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**A COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF
AMERICANISM vs. COMMUNISM**



62-46855-198

STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Santa Fe, New Mexico
June 1962

DIRECTOR, FBI (62-46855)
ATTN: CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION

9/18/62

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HANDBOOK FOR TEACHING
AMERICANISM VERSUS COMMUNISM
STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO
BOOK REVIEWS

ReBulet to Albuquerque 8/29/62.

Enclosed herewith are 2 copies of a booklet entitled
"A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF AMERICANISM VS. COMMUNISM" prepared by
the State Department of Education at Santa Fe, New Mexico.
These copies are not the final printed form, but the content,
with the exception of a few misspelled words, is exactly that
which will appear for use of New Mexico school teachers.

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F O R E W O R D

Many schools of New Mexico have been teaching about communism, it's evils and fallacies for several years. However, not all schools have been able to give this instruction. In some instances local citizens have objected to the teaching about communism; in other instances teachers have felt the need of an approved guide and lists of resource materials, which were not available. Recently large number of citizens, associations and committees have requested that instruction about communism in the schools should be given approval with direction and assistance from the State Department of Education.

Some state legislatures have passed laws requiring that communism be taught at the high school level. Such laws have been passed in Florida and Louisiana.

The bibliography included in this publication has been evaluated and approved by persons recognized as knowledgeable on the subject of communism.

The use of communist materials, such as the communist manifesto, should not be excluded from the instructional program. However, when materials written by communists are used they should be carefully identified as such and students should be informed that the material is of communist origin. These materials should be used only to demonstrate the evils, fallacies

and contradictions of communism.

Teachers should be carefully selected and thoroughly informed if they are assigned to teach a course about communism. Teachers who do not feel that they are properly prepared to teach about communism should enroll in special courses and get the proper preparation. Some of the colleges and universities of New Mexico will offer short courses for such teachers beginning in the fall of 1962, if enough teachers request the need for such help.

It is recommended that this course be taught in the eleventh or twelfth grades. This plan will give students an opportunity to be well informed on the American Heritage before they approach this course, and thus be better able to make wise comparisons. This plan provides time for the careful study about communism instead of acquiring a few irrelevant facts. This approach also equips the student to defend human freedom.

The enemy threatening human freedom today has manpower, resources and technological weapons for waging war. Our nation has repeatedly demonstrated faith in our heritage of democratic ideals and courage to praise freedom and also be free. Now we hope that each student in our schools will be imbued with a deep sense of responsibility to defend this freedom.

Recognition is due Ellen Hartnett Digneo who worked diligently in compiling and editing this material.

Tom Wiley
Superintendent of Public Instruction

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Nickie W. Meeks, My Secretary, has been especially helpful
in the preparation of this manuscript.

The resource unit on Americanism vs. Communism published by the Florida State Department of Education and the guide Teaching About Communism by the Ventura County Schools have also been extremely helpful.

In particular, I wish to salute the teachers who will use this handbook and go far beyond the suggestions given here. For as the teacher expands the realistic teaching, the student will understand the nature of communism and appreciate the heritage

of American ideals. They will also appreciate the rights, duties and privileges of American citizenship.

Ellen Hartnett Digneo
Director of Teacher Education
and Social Studies

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE IN NEW MEXICO

On June 27, 1961 Tom Wiley, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, with the approval of the State Board of Education, appointed a statewide advisory committee on citizenship to work closely with the Instructional Services Area of the Department of Education to assess current practices with respect to teaching good citizenship and to make recommendations for extension of citizenship programs.

The committee was directed to be concerned not only with evaluation of formal courses such as civics and government but also with classroom and other extra-curricular activities which lend themselves to the demonstration of good citizenship practices.

"Although the schools have always taken leadership in the development of good citizens", Mr. Wiley said, "in times like these we must insure that the schools are making maximum effort within their areas of responsibility."

The committee has met several times and has developed some suggestions which will be helpful in strengthening our teaching of American heritage in the schools of New Mexico.

The New Mexico Directors of Instruction chose the topic, "An Articulated Social Studies Program: Grades One Through Twelve", at their annual meeting which was held on the New Mexico State University Campus at Las Cruces, January 19 and 20,

1962. The impact of this two day program was very effective in arousing interest in planning curriculum materials for teaching about communism and in alerting this group of leaders concerning menaces to American democracy.

Ross Malone, Attorney from Roswell, addressed the banquet meeting of this group. His topic was, "Menaces to American Democracy". Copies of "Menaces to American Democracy" by Ross Malone are available by writing to Mrs. Ellen Hartnett Digneo, Director of Teacher Education and Social Studies, State Department of Education, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

On March 24, 1962 a statewide workshop was held on the campus of New Mexico School of Mining and Technology, Socorro, New Mexico. Dr. Paige W. Christiansen, Assistant Professor of Humanities, assisted by John Fanta, Director of Student Affairs and Mrs. Ellen Hartnett Digneo of the State Department of Education did the preliminary planning. About 100 teachers attended the meeting and showed an interest in continuing the study about communism.

The Roswell Public Schools have published an excellent booklet:

TEACHING ABOUT COMMUNISM, Roswell City Schools, Roswell N. Mex.

The Administration of the Roswell City Schools is acutely aware of the responsibility it holds in the present war of ideas and the crucial struggle for the minds of men. What the graduates of the Roswell City Schools think and know about our country and our way of life, together with what they think and know

about our antagonist, communism, will directly bear upon the future of our great country.

This booklet was produced in the belief that the Patrons of the Roswell City Schools are interested in the part the schools are playing in this great struggle. It is designed to afford a quick over-all view of the minimum basic program being taught in the Roswell City Schools from grades seven through twelve in regard to our American heritage and the Communist danger. Most of the material contained in this booklet is simply an adaptation of material drawn from the courses of study for each of the following subjects required of all students:

- Geography--Grade 7 (full year course)
- U.S. History--Grade 8 (full year course)
- Civics--Grade 9 (full year course)
- World History--Grade 10 (full year course)
- American History--Grade 11 (full year course)
- American Government--Grade 12 (half year course)

The course of study for each of the above subjects is revised annually by the teachers themselves.

The statement that this booklet outlines the minimum basic program cannot be over-emphasized. Each teacher will go well beyond these required minimums in his own way and using his own choice of additional materials ranging from films and film-strips through the teacher's own syllabus on communism which he may have developed.

The extent to which the teachers take the teaching of our American heritage and the communist threat beyond the required

specifics of the course of study is well illustrated by noting that in one school year they use thirty-three school owned films, one-hundred-fifty school owned filmstrips, forty-three rental films, and approximately thirty films brought to us by private interests, all dealing with history and private enterprise.

But regardless of how much more any teacher may find the time and ability to do, the minimum requirements are met by all. LOS ALAMOS AND ALAMOGORDO PUBLIC SCHOOLS are also reorganizing their entire social studies program to give strength and a new emphasis on world affairs. These and other programs will be reported in the state Social Studies Bulletin, as we receive complete plans from the schools.

The Alamogordo outline shows how the American Heritage program in the lower grades will emphasize the American way of life and prepare students to meet the Communist threat.

SANDIA HIGH SCHOOL PROJECT, Albuquerque, New Mexico

Sandia High School's History Department developed an excellent unit in the area of teaching about communism this past year, 1961-62. In a series of History Department meetings devoted to instructional problems in teaching about Communism the following conclusions were reached:

1. There was a definite need for the instruction of this topic.
2. The World History classes, composed of seniors, were the logical ones to deal with this topic.
3. Under the present system there was no coordination among the teachers involved in the teaching of this topic on an individual basis. Some teachers were doing more in this area than others.

4. Some teachers felt they were not adequately prepared to teach about this topic.
5. It was generally agreed that the ideal situation would be one where every teacher would deal with this topic within the framework of his World History course. However, since some teachers were not able to do this for reasons of preparation, it was decided to experiment with an instructional approach that would involve the following:
 - a. A basic and uniform unit on Communism would be presented.
 - b. The World History classes in each of our six period daily schedule would be grouped together for the presentation of this unit.
 - c. The instruction would be handled by a modified version of the team-teaching method. This would enable teachers to teach those phases of the topic in which they felt better informed. An important secondary aim in the use of this method was that it would provide an "in-service training" experience for those teachers who were weak in this area of subject matter.

Planning the Content Material

The staff was generally agreed that the content material that gave teachers the most trouble was the philosophy and theory of Communism. The historical events leading to, and including, the Russian Revolution as well as the development of the Soviet Union since the Revolution were considered as phases that could be easily covered by each individual teacher before the basic unit was presented.

It was decided that three basic topics, presented in three lectures, would serve as the core around which our unit would be constructed. These three topics were presented in the first three days of the unit. We attempted, with some success, to present the following stages of development for Communism:

1. The development of socialism as a reaction to the uncontrolled growth of the Industrial Revolution.

The social and political schools of thought in socialism that were sympathetic to democracy, as well as those that took anti-democratic positions, were discussed. This, of course, was to be a prelude to the "scientific socialism" of Karl Marx.

2. The origin of the Marxist philosophy and how it became the core of the communist ideology. Here, the basic principles of the political and economic theories of Marx were covered, and presented to serve as a background to the philosophy adopted by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.
3. The adoption and modification of the Marxist philosophy by Lenin and Stalin. Also included in this presentation was a summary of the doctrinal modifications effected by the Soviets in more recent times.

With these three presentations as the foundation, the group was then able to advance to other aspects of the unit, namely:

1. Why does Communism appeal to people? This was covered by a film.
2. What tactics are used by Communism? This was covered by a film.
3. Communist territorial expansion since World War II.
4. A statement on Communism by the F.B.I. This was presented by a tape recording. We had planned to have a guest speaker but circumstances did not permit it.
5. Aspects of international communism. Motives, tactics and objectives of the Soviet Union were presented through an interesting film featuring former Ambassador George Kennan.
6. The last topic was included to provide a bit of intellectual spice. It was presented by our psychology teacher who showed a genuine interest in participating in our team-teaching effort.

Instructional Materials

1. Library books dealing with the topic were placed on reserve and students were given a bibliography.
2. One tape recording borrowed from the local F.B.I. office.
3. The three films mentioned above were borrowed from the Fourth Army Film Exchange of Fort Bliss, Texas. Some of these films are also available from the Film Library of Kirtland Base.

Evaluation of the Unit

Subject Matter

A uniform test was administered to the 405 students who were

involved in the unit. Test results generally followed the usual grade range pattern established by each individual class. In other words, we are safe in saying that we were able to put our material across with about the same degree of effectiveness as if we were engaged in individual classroom teaching.

Student Reaction

Each student was asked to express his reaction to the unit. At least 85% of the students expressed favorable reaction. More important, they were very constructive in their criticism, and many of their recommendations would certainly strengthen our unit if we were to present it again in the future to another group.

Most of the students felt they needed more time for this unit. Ten days did not give sufficient time for questions. Several students suggested that factual comparison of the two doctrines would have been very helpful.

General Teacher Evaluation

The unit was generally successful in accomplishing our basic objectives. Needless to say, we were guilty of many shortcomings that can be attributed to our lack of experience in this sort of thing. It is not certain that we will try the same approach next year, even though we all seem favorably disposed to do so, but if we do, we will try to incorporate the following recommendations in order to strengthen areas of weakness:

1. Better coordination of the lecture material presented by each teacher to avoid omissions and repetitions.

2. Inclusion of more current Soviet objectives and tactics.
3. Inclusion of a comparative analysis of the democratic system and the communist system.
4. Presentation, perhaps in dramatic form, of how Americans must be prepared to meet and refute anti-democratic arguments.
5. Allow more time for question and answer sessions after the lectures.

NEW MEXICO HIGHLANDS UNIVERSITY, Las Vegas, New Mexico

New Mexico Highlands University has had a special summer program of courses in American Studies sponsored by the Coe Foundation as a positive approach to the inculcation of American ideals. In the summer of 1961 and again in 1962 twenty teachers from New Mexico high schools were awarded scholarships for "refresher" studies in this program.

OVER-ALL COURSE

OBJECTIVES

1. To teach of the traditions, ideals and achievements of American democracy and of our economic and social institutions.
2. To develop an appreciation of the American heritage, democratic processes, freedom of opportunity, enterprise under law and the will to preserve that freedom.
3. To understand the world in which our young people live and the affairs about which they will be privileged to vote.
4. To understand Soviet Communism and the threats to the freedom of the people of our nation (ignorance is dangerous).
5. To understand that an informed thoughtful knowledge and discussion will strengthen Americans.
6. To understand the nature and implications of the policies we must combat.
7. Study and compare the political, social and economic life in the U.S.S.R. and the United States thus strengthening democratic loyalties and deepening understandings of democratic ideals.
8. To understand the appeal of Communism in Communist and Satellite countries.
9. To understand the varied and changing meaning of the term Communism through the past two thousand years.
10. To understand differing definitions of communism.
11. To realize that existing dictatorships have given new meanings to the term communism.

AMERICANISM

Americans usually agree that the individual has responsibilities as well as rights and privileges. One of these responsibilities is maintaining and defending freedom. If the liberty of an individual is taken away there is no freedom. The individual's right to own property, buy and sell in a free market and earn a fair profit for this effort makes up the strength of America's competitive system. America's courts of justice and political and religious freedoms protect our liberties and give worth and dignity to the individual.

The worth of the state, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals compassing it...A state which dwarfs its men in order that they may be docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes...will find that with small men no great things can be accomplished.

Thus wrote John Stuart Mill, the English Philosopher, in his famous essay on Liberty (1859).

Americanism consists of many ingredients-a devotion to principles that enhance an ideal of religious tolerance, patriotism, freedom, courage, integrity and an abiding faith in the United States of America.

The American way of life is reflected in the lives of great presidents; Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Lincoln, Grant, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, and many more. The inventors, the authors and artists all made a special contribution which permitted the light from the past

to help us find the road to the future. Citizenship is strengthened by understanding our past: Knowledge alone will not make anyone a good citizen, but lack of knowledge will limit an individual's effectiveness.

History explains why we think, believe, and act as we do. When we study the principles cherished by the best and wisest men among our Founding Fathers and the corresponding leaders of the Twentieth Century, there is one principle which remains unchanged throughout the history of our country. This is the principle that each individual has dignity and worth. This principle is not so much the product of America as America is a product of it. Many Americans feel that the magnificent human struggle toward making this principle a part of the daily lives of citizens is truly the American way of life, or Americanism.

The importance of each individual, his dignity and worth is of utmost importance to Americans. As we study the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, we feel the strength of the American ideal. The Declaration of Independence states that:

All men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Government in America is the creation of the people and its power rests with them. Provisions for changing the Constitution (by ballot and majority rule) was provided by the founders of our country. Jefferson also maintained that legal rights and

liberties of all individuals and minorities must be protected against the passion of the mob, the vigilance of the party, the power of the privileged, the tyranny of secret police, the caprice of officials and the ambition of mad men.

In 1960, the noted jurist, Learned Hand, wrote:

The spirit of liberty is a spirit which is not too sure that it is right...which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women...remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded...(it) is the spirit of Him who...taught mankind that lesson it has never learned but has not quite forgotten; that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered...with the greatest.¹

Liberty is expressed in the different way Americans support divergent views. Diversity is one of the marks of liberty.

America is a nation of laws, even though we do not all see every issue facing this nation alike. If we feel that a law is not good we are free to work through proper channels of government to repeal the law.

In America we believe in the philosophy of union with dissent and a freedom which permits the minority approach to a problem within the confines of unity and the framework of law and order.

Firmly established in the American principle of individual dignity and worth is the belief that only when individuals are given free access to all different competing viewpoints can

¹Learned Hand, The Spirit of Liberty, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., p. 190.

they recognize what is honest and right and decide wisely which course to follow. The individual is given an opportunity through this method to direct his own destiny and to cooperate in the building of a strong nation. The cooperative efforts of individuals are important and fundamental in the American way of life. Jefferson impressed this upon us when he stated in the Declaration of Independence:

With a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Americanism is the recognition of the truth that the inherent and fundamental rights of man are derived from God and not from governments, societies, dictators, kings or majorities.²

Many Americans say that Americanism cannot be defined. It is indeed difficult to define adequately in a brief statement. Americans follow many creeds and many solutions are sought to solve the problems facing the citizens. However, we do know that cooperative efforts of individuals are essential in the American way of life.

Americanism is expressed in the Declaration of Independence where our forefathers said that all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, chief among which are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. From this Declaration and the well-established interpretations that have been put upon it from the beginning of the Republic down to the present moment it is clear that Americanism recognizes the exist-

²U. S. Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities, Investigation of Un-American Activities & Propaganda, 1939, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., pp. 10-11.

ence of a God and the all-important fact that the fundamental rights of man are derived from God and not from any other source. Among these inalienable rights which are the gifts of man from his Creator are: (1) freedom of worship; (2) freedom of speech; (3) freedom of press; (4) freedom of assemblage; (5) freedom to work in such occupation as the experience, training, and qualifications of a man may enable him to secure and hold; (6) freedom to enjoy the fruits of his work, which means the protection of property rights; (7) the right to pursue his happiness with the necessary implication that he does not harm or injure others in the pursuit of this happiness. Upon this basic principle, the whole structure of the American Government was constructed. The system of checks and balances in the Constitution was wisely conceived and ingeniously constructed to provide every possible guaranty that every citizen of the United States would enjoy and retain his God-given rights. First, the Federal Government was specifically enjoined from exercising any power that was not expressly or by necessary implication granted to it in the Constitution. Second, such powers as the Federal Government was authorized to wield were wisely distributed between the three great departments, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. The essence of Americanism is therefore class, religious, and racial tolerance. It should be emphasized in the strongest language possible that the maintenance of these three forms of tolerance is essential to the preservation of Americanism. They constitute the three great pillars upon which our Constitutional Republic rests, and if any of these pillars is destroyed, the whole structure of the American system of government will crumble to the earth. Therefore, the man who advocates class hatred is plainly un-American even if he professes racial and religious tolerance. The converse of this proposition is equally true. It is as un-American to hate one's neighbor (who)... has more of this world's material goods as it is to hate him because he was born into another race or worships God according to a different faith.

The American Government was established to guarantee the enjoyment of these fundamental rights. It therefore, follows that in America the Government is the servant of the people. The rights of the people are protected through laws and their strict enforcement. For this reason, law and order are essential to the preservation of Americanism while

lawlessness and violence are distinctly un-American.

Americanism means the recognition of the God-given rights of man and the protection of those rights under the Constitution through the instrumentality of an independent Congress, an untrammelled judiciary, and a fair and impartial Executive operating under the American system of checks and balances. Americanism likewise means the protection of an unorganized majority from an organized minority as well as the protection of a helpless minority from an inconsiderate and thoughtless majority.

The characteristic which distinguishes our Republic from the dictatorships of the world is not majority rule but the treatment of minorities. Dictatorships muster huge majorities at the polls, through intimidation and high-powered government propaganda, but these majorities are used for ruthless tyranny over minorities. The majority rule of the American form of government is distinguished by its recognition of certain rights of minorities which majorities cannot alienate.

All of these definitions of Americanism are based upon the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.²

²Ibid., pp. 10-11.

WHY STUDY ABOUT COMMUNISM AND CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES

Twenty years ago Russia was not considered to be one of the important places or forces manacing American democracy. Many changes have taken place in the world. The changes are political, economic and social. With these changes have come problems, new issues and new sources of world tensions. Thus, America faces ever increasing threats to democracy. Ralph Linton, the noted anthropologist, has said, "One understands his own culture much better if it is held in focus with at least one other".

Since Lenin made the declaration that, "The future belongs to youth - To win the world's youth for communism is to win the future", an intensive effort has been made by the Party to attract youth to join the "Revolutionary Movement". Among the one-billion people, approximately one third of the world's population now controlled by communists, are many youths who must live under the totalitarian regime of communism.

Many young people of our state and nation know more about the communist conquest for world domination than we realize. Some have learned from youths from Cuba; some have read and studied about the communist conspiracy. We must be sure that all high school youth have the opportunity to study the history and conspiracy in order to thwart the Party's Plan to win youth for communism and also to strengthen our American freedom.

The instruction about communism should not be designed to create hysteria or despair. The study should foster sober understanding of the dangers. It should be remembered that the study about communism is controversial. Our country's security is threatened by its plan. "In spite of the problems encountered, teaching about communism is urgently required not only in the name of up-to-date education and also in the name of National Civil Defense", says Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer, Professor of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame.

We should teach the foundations of American democracy, citizenship and our American heritage in a manner which will develop patriotic Americans well rounded in an awareness of their privileges, opportunities and responsibilities.

If communist students can be inspired by their purposes of destruction, how much more American students should be inspired by the defense of truth, love and order.

Students should be given reasons for studying about the nature, evils, and fallacies of communism. The strongest reason for the study of communism today is that totalitarian communism is now the foremost threat to the American way of life.

The democratic process and American system is founded on free exchange of ideas. As we come to grips with problems, work out differences and make our decisions, the democratic process is at work. The schools play an important part in

developing attitudes and competencies needed by the citizen of a democratic state. Well planned studies of controversial issues should help to prepare youths to resolve problems which they will meet in life.

Statement of Policy Important

A school can only deal with important problems of a controversial nature when it has the full support of the parents and school officials as well as the teacher. There are many problems - social, economic and political - which deal with everyday issues. A survey made by the N.E.A. showed various lay groups objecting to controversial issues listed here: religion, education, sex education, local politics, communism, socialism, public ownership, national politics, race relations, labor management, the United Nations. Therefore, teachers should have a clear written statement of policy from the local board of education before they begin this course on communism, rather than going forward fearfully or refraining from teaching that which should be taught.

The New Mexico State Board of Education, through adoption of this bulletin, is giving endorsement to the study about communism.

Local and national teachers' organizations are making resolutions endorsing the treatment of controversial issues in the schools. When a local board decides to give approval to the teaching about any controversial issue it is best to work

through an advisory committee. This committee should then issue a policy statement that guarantees freedom to learn. The advisory committee should be made up of laymen, teachers and administrators. Working within the policies of the committee, teachers are protected from pressure groups and pupils can study and discuss significant issues in an objective atmosphere.

Many have questioned whether pupils should study problems which society itself has been unable to solve. However, it is important to realize that youth needs a sound introduction to the problems that confront the nation. Perhaps the proper study of these difficult topics will help develop some of the attitudes and techniques by which these important issues may eventually be resolved. Young people on the threshold of citizenship should be aware of, and able to grapple with, some of these unsolved problems. As the study unfolds, many varieties of opportunities develop for action. As pupils and teachers analyze and discuss chronic issues, and as they come to mutual agreement concerning solutions, the school is initiating one of the most potent forces for cultural improvement that education has presented to society. Children of all ages should discuss appropriate controversial issues. It is doubtful that communism should be studied seriously before grade eleven or twelve.

Here are two sets of criteria which will help in the

decision concerning the study of controversial issues:

Set #1:

1. Does the study contribute to the achievement of social science goals?
2. Will the study deal with an important aspect of living which is significant to the pupils?
3. Is the study related to past experiences and will it lead to broader interests and study of other significant problems?
4. Is the study within the range and ability of the group?
5. Will the study provide opportunities to satisfy basic needs of the students?
6. Are there enough factual and reference resource materials available for the study?

Set #2:

1. Are the pupils mature enough to study this issue?
2. Is the issue of interest to the pupils?
3. Is the issue timely?
4. Has the issue been placed at the correct grade level for study?
5. Does the teacher feel prepared to handle the problem successfully?
6. Can study materials be provided for the study?
7. Is enough time allowed to justify the study?
8. Is the community ready for the study?

Three Purposes of the Study About Communism:

1. Education is the surest protection against aggression of communist ideas. Education must create a strong will to resist attacks upon the American system of government.
2. The study of Russia and its system of government serves as an admirable vehicle for clarifying the meaning of our own ideas. All too little is done to instruct about the values of our way of life.
3. A third purpose for teaching about the Soviet Union is to impart information about its geographic and economic characteristics to pupils who need to know about the world in which they live. Aside from the ideological characteristics, the geographic facts about U.S.S.R. should be included in the education of every American citizen.

A thorough grounding in essentials of the American way of life is important. Even the unrealistic claims of progress by communists should cause the American to rebel against the price of liberty these gains cost. We should so love liberty that no material advantage would ever induce us to put it on a bargain counter. Education has no greater responsibility than to keep this principle alive in the hearts of each American. When this is done properly, nothing we learn about the U.S.S.R. can threaten our future.

Silence on the subject of communism in the school curriculum is not golden. To exclude a study of Russia and its ideology serves chiefly to leave the pupil uninformed about the most dangerous adversary our country has ever known. Any timidity educators and boards of education may feel about introducing the study of the U.S.S.R. should be promptly suspended in favor of a carefully prepared program of instruction, said Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C.³

Assigned Readings

Communism in Action, U. S. Government Printing Office, Chapter VI, Living Standards.

"Stalin Pays 'Em What They're Worth", Saturday Evening Post, July 21, 1945, pp. 11-62.

Freedom - America's Choice, Articles adapted from Reader's Digest, 1962.

³U. S. Senate, Education for Survival in the Struggle Against World Communism, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1962, p. 53.

TO THE TEACHER

The new role of the United States in the Mid-20th Century is based on the recognition of the fact that the peoples of the world are interdependent. Point four and technical assistance programs; alliances and regional agreements, including military assistance to allies; re-examination of trade policies; loans for industrial development; participation in the United Nations and its agencies are all evidences of an increased awareness of American responsibilities outside American borders.

American citizens must realize world interdependence and the measures of cooperation that must be implemented by national states and by individual citizens.

A citizen is a member of a state which in return for allegiance or fealty guarantees its protection to persons and property and insures the enjoyment of civic rights and privileges. A state not only extends protection to citizens at home but also usually extends diplomatic protection when traveling or residing abroad.⁴ The problem here is that few people realize their own individual part of the guarantee (in return for allegiance). Many Americans accept the enjoyment of civic rights as well as the privileges offered by the government without giving a second thought to the allegiance on their own part.

⁴ World Book Encyclopedia, p. 1435.

Since our federal union was formed, American schools have given increasing attention to American History and Government. Even the elementary, junior high school, senior high school and college curricula have American History in one form or another firmly established. Courses in Civics or Government have also gained status. The rise of totalitarian governments in the 1920's and 1930's stimulated distinct and planned teaching of the traditions, ideals and achievements of American democracy and our economic and social institutions.

Many high schools have set up courses in the history and government of other nations. The offerings in European or World History have also increased during the past twenty-five years. Attention is also being given to the nature of democracy and it's totalitarian competitors.

The reason for requiring courses in history and other social studies is to develop an understanding by young citizens of the world in which they live and affairs about which they will be privileged to vote.

Some highly patriotic Americans have feared an understanding of Russia, and in particular, Soviet Communism. On the other hand many thoughtful people and responsible leaders in American public life have urged that understanding of Soviet Communism is essential to American citizens, that our loyalties must depend on informed and thoughtful knowledge and discussion rather than impressionistic feelings or prejudices.

The greater the threat of Communist propaganda or Soviet policy, the greater the need of our citizens to understand the nature of the appeals and the suggestions of the course of action we must fight against. Surely no one who has stopped to appraise our life in a democracy can believe that democratic institutions will suffer by comparison with life in U.S.S.R. The practical study about Soviet Communism should deepen understanding of and loyalty to democratic ideals and customs of our government.

All major nations and regions including the Soviet Union should be studied from the historic, the economic, the philosophical, the anthropological and the geographical point of view. As we proceed in our study of Soviet Communism, the analysis should bring about two understandings

First, we must understand how the meaning of the term communism has changed through the past two thousand years. Communistic life has appealed to idealists in many societies. Early Christians, the Settlers of Jamestown and Plymouth and followers of social reformers responded to idealistic theories that contemporary communists still exploit in the U.S.S.R. and other places. Marxian Communism promised the workers material gains and status; however, these ideals are still conspicuously absent in Soviet life. Americans need to know and understand the conflicting, differing definitions of communism. They must also recognize that existing dictatorships are giving

new meaning to the term.

Second, our democracy is better understood when we study contrasting political, economic and social systems. Such a study brings out the privileges and responsibilities of our democratic citizenship.

As an aid to study communism a lengthy bibliography of readable materials is listed herein. These materials have been reviewed to assure reading for the average as well as the superior student. Much of the material is in terms of human experience such as reports of the U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Un-American Activities, Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, Contradictions of Communism and J. Edgar Hoover's Masters of Deceit. These are just a few of the many listed references. The references have been chosen to encourage reading about history, ideology, party, the Soviet System, also about leaders, Aesopian language, fiction, non-fiction and philosophies. The materials are mostly in the form of narrative and descriptive history since this type of material is usually more effective with most high school students. Many of these references have succeeded in presenting the danger of the vital issues we face today.

Records of history reveal the fact that authoritarian governments in one form or another have repeatedly threatened human freedom. Mussolini, the fascist leader proclaimed:

There is no freedom of the individual; there is only freedom of people, nations and races. The individual

is only the means to achieve the noble purpose of the state. I spit upon the corpse of liberty.

Suppression of human freedom is the objective of totalitarianism today. Weapons technology makes the present form of communism extremely dangerous. The Soviet Union and Communist China, controlled by a small group of unscrupulous men, are using an organized system of terror to achieve their objectives.

Today the threat is the Totalitarian Communist Party that uses espionage, subversion, agitation, propaganda and infiltration tactics in its effort to conquer the world. Under these conditions, the free world must continue to possess military strength superior to that of the communists and see that each citizen of the free world is prepared to meet and defeat communism. This is the challenge that we face today in America's classrooms.

Adequate planning for classroom instruction takes time. There are two distinct related phases to proper planning. These are pointed out in Education for Survival:

1. Overall preliminary planning. Such planning provides for ordering books, periodicals, films, filmstrips and other needed materials well in advance of the time when they will be needed for classroom use. This provides opportunity for teachers to plan well ahead for the subjects they will be called upon to teach. It enables them to familiarize themselves with course content, suitable teaching materials and other instructional

resources. It facilitates lesson planning.

2. The second phase of planning cannot be done adequately until the teacher knows the capabilities of students in the classes. Teaching plans must be appropriate to the level of the students understanding, their intellectual capacities, study habits and skills.

To facilitate lesson or teaching planning, some schools are providing time during the school day for selected teachers to prepare "resource units". Other schools are setting up workshops for principals, then they in turn will teach the teachers in an in-service program, the objectives, goals and program related to teaching about communism.

THE UNIT PLAN

The Unit Plan is an outline of purposes, content, problems, activities and materials related to a given topic. Although there are variations among units, the major sections of most are typical. While there are many ways to approach the study about communism, the unit plan gives a diversified approach and an opportunity for all students to work at their capacity. Following a textbook or a lecture pattern confines the student to a narrow field of study. Obviously, if studies on the evils of communism are to be effective, students will need adequate references and current materials. Every school should endeavor to build a social studies materials center with materials of various levels available, so that every student will find information within his understanding.

This simple outline for unit teaching may be adapted to your needs:

1. The title.
2. Background material or overview.
3. Purposes of teachers.
4. Purposes of students.
5. Introduction, initiation or approach.
6. Problems experiences materials and activities that will help to achieve the purposes of the unit should be included.
7. Culminating activities, summarizing the unit, a paper of research value, exhibit, play, test.
8. Evaluation - to see what has been learned.

Checklists
Charts
Test Items

9. Instructional resource references for students,
references for teachers and lists of books.

A resource unit is a reservoir of information about a topic or area that teachers may tap for subject matter guidance about a specific topic (annotated materials, textbooks, films, filmstrips, recordings, agencies to contact, suggested learning activities).³

³Ibid., pp. 7-8.

SAMPLE UNIT - TEACHING ABOUT COMMUNISM

I. Purposes of this study.

1. To develop a greater appreciation of the American Heritage.
2. To better understand democratic processes.
3. To appreciate freedom of opportunity such as Americans enjoy.
4. To understand enterprise under law.
5. To develop a strong will to preserve freedom.
6. To understand what the threat of communism means to the freedom of the people of our nation.
7. To obtain facts about communism in all of its aspects.
8. To understand the nature of communism.
9. To understand the evils of communism.
10. To know why free people have condemned communism.

II. Background information.

Read about the life of Karl Marx. Born May 5, 1818 at Trier in the Rhineland. His parents, Herschel and Henriette, belonged to the respectable Jewish middle class. His father was a lawyer and a descendant of a long line of Jewish rabbis. His mother was a descendant of a Jewish family which had originally come from Holland. Neither the mother nor father accepted the official religion of the Prussian State.

When Karl was twelve he entered the gymnasium at Trier. He was a brilliant student at the age of eighteen. He entered the University of Bonn, with the intention of studying law.

Assigned Readings - Background material.


For superior high school students or college level:
The Philosophy of Communism, Charles J. McFadden,
Benziger Bros., Inc., New York.

High school level:

Communism in Action, U. S. Government Printing Office,
Washington, D. C.

How Marx was influenced by the Hegelian philosophy. Read Das Kapital and Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels.

1. Further study of Marxism.

- 
2. Leninism.
 3. Stalinism.
 4. Krushchevism.
 5. Titoism.
 6. Maoism.

Introduction or Initiation Statements:

Communism is not merely a set of ideas; it is an ideology combined with a combat organization. It is an organized ideological enterprise aiming to carry its ideology to power and to impose its power on the whole world.

Communism is admittedly committed to destroying capitalism as an economic system and democracy as a political system. The communists challenge every area of the American democratic way of life.

Communism is obviously in conflict with the democratic way of life which is accepted and supported by the people of the United States of America.

Communists have resurrected primitive approaches to life problems which substitute tyranny for democracy in government.

Communism can no longer be viewed passively. The people of the United States have come to realize that left alone communism has not faded away. It has continually grown in strength abroad until now it is a principal threat to the democratic way of life.

Current thinking encourages a full knowledge and understanding of the communist system.

The truth concerning communism is the greatest means at hand for meeting its challenge.

J. Edgar Hoover has stated, "Truth is the surest weapon against the lowering threats of communism. More than anything else communists fear truth for deceit is their strategy."

RESOLUTIONS ON TEACHING ABOUT COMMUNISM IN THE SCHOOLS

The American Bar Association, The American Legion and the National Education Association add support to the plan of teaching about communism in the following resolutions:

American Bar Association

Whereas, we recognize the urgency of instructing all Americans in the full scope and aims of communism and the increasing threat it poses to the free world and to our democracy and freedom under law to the end that an informed citizenry may successfully defend and preserve our American heritage; and

Whereas, our educational institutions, both public and private, especially at the secondary, college and adult levels afford the best means of developing sound programs of instruction in this area; and

Whereas, these institutions and educators, in accepting this responsibility, must be given public understanding and support;

Now, Therefore, Be It Resolved by the American Bar Association:

- (1) That through our members and the cooperation of state and local bar associations we encourage and support our schools and colleges in the presentation of adequate instruction in the history, doctrines, objectives and techniques of communism, thereby helping to instill a greater appreciation of democracy and freedom under law and the will to preserve that freedom;
- (2) That to insure the highest quality of instruction in this area, those responsible for our educational programs be urged to provide the appropriate training of instructors and to stimulate the production of scholarly textbooks and other teaching materials of professional excellence;
- (3) That we seek to implement this resolution through a special committee of seven members to observe and encourage progress in this educational program and to render annual reports to the Association, the committee to

include the Chairman of our Committees on American Citizenship, the Bill of Rights, and Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives, and one or more of our members who are educators.

---Resolution adopted by the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association, February 20, 1961.

The American Legion

Whereas, The American Legion is vitally interested in the preservation of the fundamental principles of Americanism to the present and succeeding generations of citizens of these United States; and

Whereas, it is the belief of The American Legion that there should be a regular course of instruction in each high school in the United States and its territories and possessions, which would: 1st, clearly delineate the principles and policies which constitute the American system and why they are sound; and 2nd, teach the elements that comprise the Communist system and why it is evil,

Be it resolved, that the National Executive Committee does hereby urge each Department, District and Post of The American Legion to work with their education officials to the end that every public and private secondary school in the United States and its territories and possessions will institute as a part of their regular curriculum suitable courses designed to deepen understanding of and loyalty to American democratic ideals and institutions and expose the fallacies of Communism.

---Resolution adopted by the American Legion Convention, Register No. 23, September 10-14, 1961 (Consolidation of Resolution No. 216 and Resolution No. 355.)

National Education Association

The responsibility of the schools is to teach the value of our American way of life, founded as it is on the dignity and worth of the individual; our youth should know it, believe it, and live it continuously.

As a measure of defense against our most potent threat, our American schools should teach about communism and

all forms of totalitarianism, including the principles and practices of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party in the United States. Teaching about communism does not mean advocacy of communism. Such advocacy should not be permitted in American schools. At the same time the National Education Association condemns the careless, incorrect, and unjust use of such words as 'Red' and 'Communist' to attack teachers and other persons who in point of fact are not Communists, but who merely have views different from those of their accusers.

Members of the Communist Party should not be employed in our schools. Communist organizations and Communist front organizations should be required by law to register with the Attorney General of the United States.

The National Education Association strongly asserts that all schools have an obligation to teach the rights, privileges, and the responsibilities of living in a democracy.

The Association charges the teaching profession with the obligation of providing the best defense of democracy through full participation in making democracy really live and work.

The Association again reminds the public of the repeated pronouncements of our military leaders and statesmen that education is the basis of our national security and that a well-planned, adequately-supported system of free public schools is fundamental to the perpetuation of the American way of life.

---Excerpts from platform and resolutions adopted at the Representative Assembly of the National Education Association, San Francisco, Calif., July 6, 1951.

...At the heart of a profession dedicated to the welfare of students lies respect for the human personality and for the continuing pursuit of truth. Members of the Communist party, therefore, bar themselves from the teaching profession.

Communists may not join the National Education Association, nor should they be permitted to teach in American schools . . .

The program of the National Education Association is

directed toward the following goals:

(1) Educational opportunity for every individual to develop his full potential for responsible and useful citizenship and for intellectual and spiritual growth.

(2) Balanced educational programs to provide for the varied needs and talents of individual students and for the strength and progress of the nation . . .

(f) Instructional programs which teach about-- but do not advocate--communism and all forms of totalitarianism. . .

---Excerpts from platform and resolutions adopted at the Representative Assembly of the National Education Association, Atlantic City, N. J., June 30, 1961.

Other Suggestions for Introduction:

To stimulate interest and to introduce problems.

1. Plan bulletin board with students, exhibit news pictures from magazines and papers depicting dangers of communism to democracy.
2. Use current news stories and feature stories to create environment.
3. Cartoons from magazines and daily papers point up tense situations.
4. Have students prepare creative cartoons to tell the danger they see in Communism.

Many students will need very little stimulus for they are already extremely interested in the world situation and the part Russia plays in it.

Some teachers may prefer to begin with a well prepared questionnaire to see what understandings students already have.

A teacher may wish to read thought provoking articles or have the students read some of these magazine and newspaper articles.

General Objectives (For the Teacher).

1. To create an awareness that indifferent citizens are a great danger to democracy.
2. To develop the attitude that the democratic way of life must be guarded constantly from threats of totalitarian ideologies.
3. To strengthen students in their respect for the dignity and worth of every individual.
4. To help students develop a feeling of personal responsibility for the activities of groups in which they are members.
5. To give students an opportunity to learn to function efficiently in situations demanding judgments based on facts.
6. To encourage habits of critical thinking and careful evaluation based on knowledge and understanding.

Specific Objectives (For the Teacher).

1. To assist students in gaining knowledge and understanding of the restrictions of a totalitarian government, in limiting the liberty of the individual citizen.
2. Teach the fallacies inherent in all forms of totalitarian governments.
3. To teach an understanding of the basic ideas of communism as practiced today in the Soviet Union and its Satellites.
4. To teach how to get facts and understandings of the world today and policies used by communists to get world dominion.
5. To give students an opportunity to understand how communists use propaganda in furthering the cause of communism.
6. To develop the habit of accumulating and analyzing facts before forming judgments.

Student Objectives.

1. To study about the people who originated communism and to evaluate their motives.
2. To find out the major aims of the Communist Party.
3. To learn about the strategy of communists in getting control of governments.
4. To examine the theory of communism.
5. To do research in order to find out what life is like in communist countries.

6. To examine the threat of communism to the democratic way of life in the United States.
7. To learn to separate facts from propaganda.
8. To improve skill in the use of resource materials.
9. To learn to work with others in group activities.
10. To improve organization of understandings and ideas in order to communicate more effectively with others.



PROBLEMS AND TOPICS FOR STUDY

COMMUNISM

The word communism means different things to different people. To many political leaders in colonial nations, it implies revolt against the white man's rule, liberation from colonialism and rapid industrialization, aided by Soviet money or advice. To some workers it means defense of lower class interests and sympathy with Soviet foreign policy. Western intellectuals tend to regard it as a Utopian ideal tarred by inhuman practices. To the policeman it is an international conspiracy of power-made criminals. To the Soviet citizen, the word connotes, in one sense, a meaningful goal his society is striving to attain within the foreseeable future, with its rewards and its hardships.⁵

Every Communist Party is a highly organized revolutionary group whose members are motivated by a zeal which rivals religious fanaticism in its intensity.⁶

Communism and its theory is more than rationalization. Undoubtedly, the thoughts and actions of communist leaders are determined in significant measure by the intellectual heritage of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. Their ideology must be faced as one of the strongest forces active in the world today.

⁵Alfred G. Meyer, Communism, Michigan State University, Random House Inc., 1960, p. 1

⁶J. Edgar Hoover, Communist Illusion and Democratic Reality, U. S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C., p. 2

Communism means an ideal, a political movement, a method of analysis and a way of life. The meaning of communism depends on time, place, circumstances and the point of view of the observer.

Communism is not an invisible power. Its movement is created by men: the operation is by men as are all of its movements. Communism as an ideal extends back to Plato's Republic. In every century men have tried to resolve a contradiction in our social order.

Communism according to classical theory aims to create a classless society in which all production, distribution and exchange are community owned.

For those who subscribe to it, Communism is a secular religion. The creed of communism subscribed to by those who follow it is primarily the product of four men. Marx and Engels in the last century set down the basic theory and Lenin and Stalin contributed to their doctrines.

Communist ideology emphasizes the "inevitable" triumph of communism over capitalism. This doctrine is based on the belief that they have the key to the history of economics.

Communist theory identifies five phases of human society as stages in historic progression toward communism: (1) primitive society (2) slaveholding society (3) feudal society (4) capitalistic society (5) social society. The final step is communism.

The schools of Russia are a weapon of the dictatorship. The Communist Party maintains and controls the schools. The schools

are made to serve the purposes of the Communist Party.

Communism is a fanatical movement; it has the characteristics of repression and tyranny which are difficult to cope with. It has caused some of the gravest problems of our time. There is a definite drive on for world wide communism. The free people of the world must be ready to face this truth.

Study Topics - Committee Assignment.

Examine the ideals and principles of democracy and compare them with the communist.

Individual Assignment to Report On.

Examine democracy as a way of life. Why has freedom been basic in democratic society?

Class Assignment.

1. Review classifications of governments.
2. List contrasts which exist in governments classified as democracies and those classified as dictatorships.
3. Assign class to locate and read statements that describe communism.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party grew up as a tightly organized and self-conscious faction within the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party.

The Communist Party worked to gain full control over the Russian working class movement with the aim of making its own policies prevail.

The party leader, Lenin, did everything within his power to make it into an organization whose every move was well under his own control, rejecting and casting out all persons and groups who

refused to submit to such control.

The party does not reflect the will of the people when the communists speak of the rule of the proletariat; "they actually mean the rule of the communist party". According to the view of the communists they are to lead and guide the workers in the revolution. By infiltration and stimulation of force they hope to establish communistic rule over the world.

The Communist Party has a war-like character. It uses all kinds of inconsistent methods to develop conflict. It is not organized for the purposes of a normal political party.

Russia was the first country in the world to fall under the communist movement. They have not been able to make the theories work in practice.

There were many problems of party policy organization unsolved when Lenin became ill. The death of Lenin brought out serious unsolved problems of party government.

No American political party is so fanatically bound by dogma as is the Communist Party which is devoted to the theories of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. Briefly this dogma is based upon the following false conceptions:

1. That all phases of American life, industry, education, religion, politics, the press, radio and films, even family life, are dominated primarily by an irreconcilable class struggle between the capitalists and the workers.
2. That our system of free capitalist enterprise (which has produced for the American people the highest living standards in the world) has actually outlived its usefulness and must be destroyed.

3. That the system of communism (with its slave labor camps, low living standards, and one-party dictatorship over every phase of human life) is superior to and must take the place of our system of free enterprise, thus abolishing the class struggle for all time.
4. That American democracy is not a government of, by, and for the American people but a capitalist dictatorship, which must be destroyed.
5. That this change to communism and a classless society can be brought about only by the violent overthrow of the capitalist system and our form of government.
6. That the Communist Party is destined to carry out this historic mission.
7. That Communists owe their highest and unreserved loyalty to the Soviet Union, where the Communist system has been finally established.⁷

Assignment for Students.

Organize and outline the history of the Russian Communist Party.

Locate information concerning the doctrine and environment in which communism was worked out; this will give a good understanding of communism.

Find the shortcomings of the party.

List major events and milestones in the history of the party that have made a lasting impact.

Question:

Why do people join and why do they leave the party?
(The answer to this question may be found by reading the following)

Reading Assignments:

Facts on Communism, Vol. II., U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

The Soviet Union from Lenin to Khrushchev, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1960, Washington, D. C.

How the Soviet System Works, Bauer, Raymond A. & others, Random House, Vintage Books.

⁷U. S. Senate, The Communist Party of the United States of America, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1956. p 11.

FACTS TO REMEMBER

Communism is history conscious. Communists see present day problems in terms of historical parallels and precedents. The historical memory of Communism, true and distorted, has played an important major role in educating the younger generation.

The history textbook is the political primer and catechism.

ECONOMIC FACTS

When the Bolsheviks seized power on November 7, 1917, they took over plants and industries as the first step in establishing the basis of socialism or communism. The departments which took over the management of economic life were left with a legacy of dying industries which they were trying to bring under concentrated control.⁸

One of the principles of early communism was that money is "a testimony of the right of the exploiter to obtain social goods with a view of speculation, profit and plundering the workers". Money thus ceased to serve its proper functions, when paper money was issued as a measure of value, unit of account, and medium of exchange. The government tried to move agricultural and industrial products without the use of money. This did not work. Trade bogged down. Towns were deserted.

⁸Alexander Boykov, The Development of The Soviet Economic System, Cambridge University Press, pp. 6-7.

In 1917 there was a decline in industrial production. This was followed by a decline in agricultural production. Despite the fact that the Russian people did not have a very high standard of living in the years before the First World War, production of both agricultural and industrial commodities was so much less in the first years of the Soviet regime that the standard of living declined even to lower depths.

The Tenth Congress of the Communist Party met in March 1921, Lenin made his followers face the bitter facts:

We are living-he said-in such conditions of impoverishment and ruin, overstrain and exhaustion of the principal productive forces of the peasants and the workers, that for a time everything must be subordinated to this fundamental consideration-at all costs to increase the quantity of goods. * * * In our attempt to pass over to Communism, we had suffered by the spring of 1921, a more serious defeat than any previously inflicted on us by Kolchak, Denikin or Pilsudsky. Compulsory requisition in the villages and the direct Communist approach to the problems of reconstruction in towns-this was the policy which interfered with the growth of the productive capacity of the country and proved to be the main cause of a profound economic and political crisis which confronted us in the spring of 1921.

It was at this Congress that the first steps were taken toward the introduction of the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.). Lenin himself described this policy in one sentence in the same speech:

The New Economic Policy means the substitution of a food tax for requisitioning; it means a transition to the restoration of capitalism in no small degree.

The New Economic Policy restored market dealings up and down and through the various sectors of industry. Even though the N.E.P. was announced when industry was practically stagnant and agriculture was in the early stages of the famine of 1921-22, some revival occurred at once. Wherever there was still some industry and where famine had not struck, production picked up. Hope was revived.

Trade was stimulated. Small industries started up again.⁹

Student Assignments.

Read - Communism in Action, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1946.

To learn:

What do the letters N.E.P. stand for?

What did the N.E.P. do?

Did the Communist Party as a whole agree concerning the need for the N.E.P.?

How did Trotsky feel about the N.E.P.?

How did the outside world view the N.E.P.?

Discussion Problems:

The situation in Russia after the Bolsheviks seized power on November 7, 1917.

What was the work of the Supreme Economic Council?

Explain how the Council activities were divided into departments.

Study various Production Tables to find how industry grew from 1913-1917.

HISTORICAL HIGHLIGHTS

The term communism was coined in the 1830's in the secret revolutionary societies of Paris. It originally meant the belief in and practice of common ownership, use and disposition of property. In that sense it stood for a protest against some existing social evils and injustices. It then represented an ancient religious Utopian ideal of a social system of economic and social inequality and political oppression. But communism did not remain an eloquent protest and social ideal very long. Soon it acquired a systematic

⁹Library of Congress, Communism in Action, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 3.

program organized as a world wide revolutionary movement.

Russian domestic history from 1856 to 1917 is a dreary story. During this period attempts were made to introduce Western-style economic, social and political reforms and harsh reaction against reforms. The Russian Tzars of the period (who since 1613 had been chosen from the Romanov family) varied a great deal in their attitudes toward reform. Most of them resisted reform. The eve of World War I saw some progress. In 1861 the agricultural workers who were virtual slaves had now been emancipated. Attempts to build up modern industry had been made in the 1880's.

Following a major uprising in 1905 a constitution was issued providing for an elected assembly called the Duma. However, even in 1914 the propertied classes were favored, so the Duma was far from being a truly representative assembly. Most of the power remained in the hands of the privileged.

Russian history points out that the 1917 replacement of the Romanov dynasty by the Provisional Government was known as the March Revolution. Before the 1917 revolution the communist movement consisted of scattered groups and parties dedicated to overthrow capitalism. After Soviet Russia was established, Lenin was returned from exile to take personal leadership of the Bolsheviks, the most powerful of the socialist groups.

The German military high command was instrumental in effecting Lenin's return to Russia. They had two objectives in mind in connection with the move. They felt it would destroy the pro-

allied Provincial Government and would weaken the Russian military against Germany. They were right, it did.

Lenin intended for his party to be a "new type". He conceived it to be the vanguard of the working class. His idea was to overthrow capitalism and then to construct socialism. The Bolshevik Party was created as a revolutionary combat organization composed of professional revolutionists. These people devoted themselves to semi-military discipline and the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism. After Russia seized power in 1917, the function of the Bolshevik party was altered. It now aimed at the organization, direction and administration of the state, the implementation of government policy, and the maintenance of power. Lenin demanded far-reaching changes when he returned, such as: the control of industry by the workers' committees, immediate seizure of land by the peasants, an immediate end to war and the recognition of the soviets as the governing organs in place of the Provisional Government. "Peace, Bread and Freedom" and "All Power to the Soviets", were popular rallying cries of the Bolshevik revolutionaries in their attempt to replace the Provisional Government.

There were other socialist groups in the Soviet, however, Lenin soon maneuvered his party into a position of leadership in the Soviet. Lenin's followers succeeded in overthrowing the Provisional Government by the fall of 1917. The "October Revolution" marked the beginning of Bolshevik rule in Russia. In the

following year the Bolsheviks became known as the Communist Party.

The years following the revolution marked a period of great confusion and turmoil in Russia. There was humiliating peace with Germany, the removal of the capital from Petrograd to Moscow, the murder of Tzar Nichols II and his family, protracted civil war in almost all parts of the old Tzarist Empire, half-hearted anti-Bolshevik intervention of the British, French, Americans and Japanese, and war with Poland and Rumania.

By 1921, when the last enemies had been driven from Russia, the nation was in a shambles of war. Private incentive had been ruined. By 1922 famine raged, with tens of millions of people starving or on a semi-starvation diet. Some historians say that five million lost their lives. This was the beginning of communism.

Lenin struck back. Slave labor camps were increased, dreaded secret police compelled conformity, churches were closed. Those who opposed Bolsheviks were ruthlessly executed as enemies of the people.

The result was the N.E.P., New Economic Policy. Peasants were now allowed to keep their surpluses of grain after taxation. They were no longer confiscated. They could even dispose of their surpluses as they chose and private trade was allowed to develop. In the industrial field many businesses were returned to private owners.

To the surprise of Bolshevik leaders, N.E.P. proved a relative

success. Both agricultural and industrial production increased.
Lenin did not live to see the final results of N.E.P.

AT A GLANCE

Important Rulers in Russian History

Early Rulers (980-1341)

Vladimir the Saint
Yaroslav the Wise
Ivan I

Russia Under the Czars (1462-1917)

Ivan III
Ivan the Terrible

The Romanov Line (1613-1917)

Michael
Peter the Great
Catherine the Great
Alexander I
Nicholas I
Alexander II
Alexander III
Nicholas II

Provisional Government (March-November, 1917)

Russia Under the Communists (November, 1917-Present)

Vladimir Lenin
Joseph Stalin
Georgi Malenkov
Nikolai Bulganin
Nikita Khrushchev¹⁰

Student Problems.

Have a group of students outline the history of Communism (980-1341) (1462-1917) (1613-1917) (1917 to present). Contrast life in the Soviet Union and the United States in the early formative years. What are the marked differences?

¹⁰Book I, Story of Nations, by Rogers, Adams & Brown, Henry Holt and Company, p. 532.

Read - January 11, 1952 issue of U.S. News and World Report.
Compare living in the United States with living in Russia.

Assign a select group to study the early movements of communism.

Films.

"Soviet Union and It's People". Emphasis upon geography, climate, economic life and history. Illustrates the development of industry, transportation and political organization. Film can be obtained from: United States Department of the Army, Pictorial Service, Washington 25, D. C.

"People of the Soviet Union". (22 min.) Produced in 1940, recently revised, and

"George Kennan Discusses Communism". Both films available from Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Questions and Topics for Study, Research and Discussion.

Read about the Russian Tzars of the Romanov family. Why did they resist reform?

What was the status of the non-land owners (serfs) in Russia before World War I?

Describe the Duma of Russia.

Which one was the most important of the early opposition groups?

Why did it take so long for Russia to emerge as America's rival in the Far East and elsewhere?

What new problems does scientific development pose for foreign policy?

ORIGIN OF THE 5-YEAR PLANS

Many incidents led to the beginning of the 5-Year Plans. There was an increasing number of public enterprises, also the policy of direct control by workers was being followed by many factories. All of this led to the need of a high coordinating authority which would be divorced from actual administration. The State Economics Planning Commission, or Gosplan, was given this authority.

In February 1921, on the eve of the launching of the N.E.P., Gosplan was instructed to draw up a general plan for the national economy and to break it down into annual programs. It was the responsibility of Gosplan to formulate plans and programs for the control, expansion, and interrelation, of the entire economic life of the nation, including industry, agriculture finance, trade, and transport, whether nationalized, municipal, cooperative, or still privately owned and operated. It developed its planning work into an Annual Plan and a 5-Year Plan and a more general Plan indicating the course of development beyond the 5 years. This has become the central planning agency of the Soviet economic system, without which the various individual plans and projects would come into conflict with one another. While Gosplan does not administer or operate any elements of the national economy, it records the progress of the plans, its successes or failures in different sectors of industry and in different sections of the country, and works out modifications as experience dictates.

All through the period of the N.E.P., Gosplan was at work studying and engineering the economy as a whole. Areas of development and expansion were laid out in different industries and regions, and in agriculture, transportation, trade, and public construction. A basic decision was made to emphasize capital development for future growth in the broad outlines of a general economic plan, and there would have to be much tightening of belts to carry out this program.

In 1925, after a new stable currency had been introduced, Gosplan issued a report on the economic control figures of the U.S.S.R. for the year 1925-26. By that time the desperate need to increase food and raw materials for any broad program of Socialist construction seemed of the clearest urgency to the dominant leaders of the Soviet state. Increased raw materials were needed for the expansion of industry and for exports with which to pay for machinery and foreign supplies.⁹

The 5-Year Plans of succeeding years very largely set up specific programs which determined the rate of progress for the economy of Soviet Russia. They provided for:

⁹ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

1. Collectivization of agriculture.
2. Rapid development of heavy industry.
3. Increase in basic materials.
4. Exploitation of vast eastern areas of the country.
5. Mechanization and electrification.
6. Improvements in the transportation.
7. Absorption of planned increases in urban population and of industrial employees.
8. Each industry had set goals of production.
9. Planned increase in productivity of labor.
10. Reduction in hours.
11. Increases in pay and the provision of social services.
12. Production costs to be checked.

Questions:

1. Tell about the work of the Gosplan. Why was it organized?
2. Did the First 5-Year Plan indicate that other 5-Year Plans would follow?
3. When was the First 5-Year Plan drawn up?
4. What specific provisions were set up in each of the 5-Year Plans?
5. What were the goals of the 5-Year Plans?

Discussion Topics:

Why was the period of collectivization called a man-made famine?

The communist laborers are required to read labor books. Every wage earner in the Soviet is required to have and read these books.

How would you feel about such a situation?

Debate Question:

Resolved that the 5-Year Plan was a success in every way.

AMERICAN SOVIET RELATIONS

On March 6, 1856, Commodore Matthew C. Perry predicted a Cold War between Russia and the United States. He said:

It seems that the people of America will, in some form or other, extend their domination and their power until they shall have brought within their mighty embrace

multitudes of the islands of the great Pacific.

And I think too that eastward and southward will her great rival in future aggrandizement stretch forth her power to the coasts of China and Siam; and thus the Saxon and the Cossacks (i.e., Russians) will meet once more, in strife or friendship on another field.

Will it be friendship? I fear not.

The antagonistic exponents of freedom and absolutism must then meet at last, and then will be fought that mighty battle on which the world will look with breathless interest.

On its issues will depend the freedom or the slavery of the world-despotism or rational liberty must be the fate of civilized man.¹¹

The story of these two nations and how they have developed into superpowers and how issues grew is fascinating. It is interesting to note that American expansion occurred in the Pacific, as Russian expansion occurred in bordering lands.

We usually identify Russian control in Eastern Europe as a result or aftermath of World War II; we should not forget that the Russians had long exerted control over parts of Eastern and Central Europe.

Assignment - Problems to Consider.

Trace the historical setting for American Soviet relations from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to World War I. How did the United States and the Soviet Union develop into such super-powers?

Why are issues between the United States of America and the U.S.S.R. of world wide importance?

¹¹ Raymond E. Platig, The United States and the Soviet Challenge, Foreign Relations Series, Laidlaw Brothers Publishers, River Forest, Illinois, p. 2.

How did the poverty and political upheaval in China, contribute to the success of Bolsheviks?

How do the aims of American revolutionaries differ from the aims of the Bolsheviks?

Trace U. S. growth and development from 1880 through 1950.

In what ways did the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867 affect relationships?

Readings:

The United States and Soviet Challenge, Platig & Porter, Laidlaw Brothers, Foreign Relations Series.

What You Should Know About Communism-And Why, Scholastic Book Services, 33 West 42nd Street, New York 36, Dept. CB-1. Communist Persuasion (A Personal Experience of Brainwashing), by E. Winance, O.S.B., P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York, N. Y.

PRINCIPLES OF LENINISM

By 1921, Lenin was in firm control of Russia, but the expected world wide revolution failed to materialize. In order to appease discontent among the peasantry, Lenin instituted the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) which consisted of incentives to produce grain by way of restoring some free enterprise on the farms. Meantime, Lenin died in January, 1924, and a power struggle ensued between Stalin, Trotsky, Tinoviev, Kamenev and Bukharin. By virtue of his control over party apparatus, Stalin emerged victorious. By 1928 he was in firm control and in that year he ended the N.E.P. and instituted the first 5-Year Plan.

Lenin was a master terrorist who marched to supremacy over the bodies of thousands of countrymen. His writings were the most widely read of any in modern history. Maxim Gorky said, "Lenin was a man who prevented people from living their own lives as no other man before him was able to do."

Lenin started with Marxism based on the promise that "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer." Karl Marx taught that the only way to eliminate inequality was through revolution. Everyone would receive a just return for his work under temporary "dictatorship of the proletariat", or working class. Finally a classless and stateless society would emerge in which all would receive "according to his need."

Lenin's "dictatorship of the proletariat" became a dictatorship over the proletariat. The classless society became one in which the elite class of communist party members controlled everything in the country.

Marx had never thought out the composition of the Party and such details; Lenin did. Lenin set up some rules which were as follows:

- The Party must be small.
- The Party must be tightly controlled.
- Party members must be deeply loyal.
- Fanaticism, not members was the key.
- Members must live, eat, breathe and dream revolution.
- Discipline must be rigid.
- If an individual falters, oust him.
- Revolutions cannot be won by clean hands, or white shirts only by blood, sweat and burning torch.

Marx thought up or created these ideas, but it was Lenin who put them into organized action.

In 1903 the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party or (Russian Marxist Party) met in Brussels. A dispute arose. Should the Party membership be restricted or open to anybody? Lenin fought for restricted membership and won. His group was called the Bolsheviks

(the majority). The losers were called the Mensheviks (minority). Lenin insisted that members should be trained revolutionaries. To allow anybody, curiosity seekers, weaklings and half-hearted joiners to belong would reduce the party's discipline, its power and fanaticism. He felt that the masses could not be trusted to make a revolution. He often said they needed men willing to die because the Party told them to die. The principles of Lenin are in full effect throughout the communist world today.

Lenin was an able propagandist. He thought in terms of battle plans, tactics and strategy, not in theories or philosophical abstractions. He maintained a man was either your friend or enemy.

Lenin worked day and night for seventeen years to perfect his plans for the revolution. His opportunity came in March 1917. Revolution erupted in Russia. The cheka (secret police) instituted a reign of terror. A wide search for enemies racked the country. Pravda, the Party newspaper, urged drastic measures. Marx had prophesied that the revolution would take place in a highly industrialized nation. Russia was industrially backward.

During the revolution most industry was nationalized. Trade and commerce were officially abolished. The government tried to distribute manufactured articles to the people. Food supplies were confiscated. Poor peasants were assembled in committees to spy on their richer neighbors who might be hiding grain. Class was set against class. This was an established tactic of communism.

The nation was shattered by 1921 when the last enemies

had been driven from Russia. Private incentive had been ruined, industrial production was down and millions of people were starving and there was a great loss of life. This was Russia's introduction to Lenin's communism. The secret police compelled conformity; labor camps were increased and churches were closed. Anyone who opposed the Bolsheviks was executed.

Terror was not the answer. In March 1921, sailors of the Red Navy in Kronstadt, who were formerly Bolshevik supporters, rebelled. Lenin realized a change had to be made. The New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) was the result. It proved a success, as it gave the leaders a breathing spell they needed to consolidate gains. Both agriculture and industrial production increased. Lenin did not live to see the final results of the temporary N.E.P. Lenin's skill cannot be underestimated. Ruthless and iron-clad discipline surrounded his concept of Party supremacy. It was difficult for Western civilization to believe that men could operate under a state policy, where actions of brutality and terror were prevalent and human dignity disregarded, but this was the plan Lenin inherited and carried out.

Sayings of Lenin.

As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in peace; in the end, one or the other will triumph --a funeral dirge will be sung either over the Soviet Republic or over World Capitalism.

Lenin used the word ruthless often which is a clue to his thinking.

There is still too little of that ruthlessness which is indispensable for the success of socialism.

These sayings reveal the Lenin who has always been hailed by the Moscow ruling hierarchy as the guiding genius of communism in Russia.

Lenin's Ten Commandments of Revolution:

1. Never reject terror on principle.
2. Salvation lies only along the road of international Socialist revolution.
3. There are no morals in politics: There is only expediency.
4. Religion is the opiate of the people.
5. Let me teach the children, and the seed I have sown will never be uprooted.
6. Truth does not count unless it serves an end.
7. Our tactic; absolute distrust.
8. Regard all persons without sentiment.
9. Promises are like piecrusts; made to be broken.
10. Scheme...zigzag...retreat...anything to hasten the coming to power of communism.¹²

Problems for Study About Lenin:

1. What was Lenin's early background?
2. What role did his brother play in the formation of the young Lenin's political ideas?
3. Who were Lenin's key associates in the underground, and what became of them in later history?
4. What is the difference between the two terms, "Menshevik" and "Bolshevik", and what was their early significance?
5. How did the Russo-Japanese War pave the way for the Russian Revolution?
6. What was "Bloody Sunday", and what was its effect?
7. Give the background of the abdication of Czar Nicholas II.
8. Which side did Lenin favor in World War I?
9. How did the German High Command "use" Lenin?
10. Who was Alexander Kerensky?
11. How was the Kerensky regime overthrown?
12. Once in power, how did Lenin treat his former opponents?
13. What was Russia's last free election?
14. What were the terms of the Brest-Litovsk treaty?
15. Why did Lenin accept them?
16. What was the ultimate fate of the Czar?
17. What brought the Allied military forces onto Russian territory, and what was achieved?

¹²Look Magazine, May 22, 1962, p. 35.

18. What was the origin of the Red Terror?
19. What was the New Economic Policy?
20. What conditions forced Lenin to put it into effect?
21. What humanitarian gesture did the United States make to the Russian people, and under whose administration?
22. What was Lenin's attitude toward labor unions?
23. What warnings did Lenin express in his political will and testament?
24. How were these borne out?
25. From his statements and actions would one call Lenin a Russian patriot or an international revolutionary?¹²

Reading Assignments.

Look Magazine, May 22, 1962.

Principles of Leninism, Chapter 4, Alfred G. Meyer,
Random House, New York, New York

Other Student Activities.

Write a brief sketch of Lenin's life.

Who are some of Lenin's apostles?

Why have so many people read Lenin's works?

Have a group construct a large map similar to the one on Page 5, Look Magazine, May 22, 1962 to show historical developments of Russia.

¹²

Ibid., Memo to Teachers.

THE STALIN REGIME

By 1926 the Soviet state, dominated by intellectual Marxian revolutionaries, settled down to save its home base, Russia. The theories of Karl Marx, which provided the core of the Soviet world outlook, consisted of two elements. One, the theory of progress toward higher forms of social organization. Collective forms of production constantly emphasized the collective aspects of the industrial economy. The other is the theory of revolution of a violent overthrow of the social and economic order, based on private ownership of the means of production.

Lenin had intended that his party would be a "new type". He conceived it to be the vanguard of the working class. Lenin passed away in January 21, 1924. Between 1924 and 1926, Stalin emerged as the undisputed leader of national communism. However, Lenin denounced Stalin shortly before he died, but too late to keep him from moving into his place. Stalin lacked the leadership of Lenin. He was more of a plodder. Once Stalin was well in control of the party, he adopted much of the program of his left wing critics and thus faced new opposition from leaders who were committed to a program of caution and slow reform. These leaders were purged, from positions of influence. This was the time when Stalin launched the program of rapid industrialization and the First 5-Year Plan. It was an ambitious and reckless program. Stalin himself later referred to the years of the First 5-Year Plan as another revolution.

The plan for industrialization disregarded economic balance, rationality or demands of the consumer. It was a desperate crash program; it brought untold human misery. The Russian population again suffered lean years with a drastic lowering of living standards. Every ounce of available energy, human as well as material, was pressed into service and pumped into investment. This introduced a new civil war against the peasantry in agriculture. Every year's harvest was sent to the hungry city dwellers. This was the only way to keep up industrialization. Private enterprise in farming was abolished. The peasants were forced into cooperation and collective farms. Here they were subject to controls. Here they used tractors and implements owned by the government.

Peasants' resistance to the attempt to "collectivize" them was bitter and persistent. The regime overcame the peasants through a virtual civil war in which thousands of peasants lost their lives, millions were left destitute. The agricultural economy of the Soviet Union suffered damages that were not mended until more than twenty years later. Right at this time a disastrous famine caused millions of Soviet citizens to die.

With industrialization came new radicalism in cultural and educational affairs. Soviet Russia moved further away from socialist goals and methods. The workers were totally subjected to discipline under a new managerial system. All agencies were now run by single managers with full authority and responsibility. Stalin was preparing for world conquest. Stalin became, in the

Communists' eyes, a virtual god on earth. On March 5, 1953, Stalin died. The communist world went into mourning. His funeral was a state spectacle. His body was entombed in Moscow. Speeches told of his greatness. The whole world wondered what would come next.

Student Activities.

Prepare a time line and show how historical facts fit in from 1917 to 1952.

Draw a pyramid and show by illustration how orders travel from top to bottom--that is from Moscow to faraway villages and factory committees.

What are some of the freedoms you enjoy that communists never know about?

Chart some of these and make contrast. This assignment may be in theme form, chart form or cartoon.

"Communist Parties in the satellite countries follow the model of Soviet Russia". Study Colegrove's chart. Pages 119, 142 and 151.¹³

What percent of Russia's population is in the top three classes?

How are the urban lower classes treated in Russia?

Why must the wives work in Russia? Is this reason the same for American housewives?

Plan a debate - Possible topics:

Resolved that the family is destroyed by working mothers.

Resolved that the Communist Party gains strength by separating children from their parents and homes.

Reading Assignment.

Education for Survival, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1962.

Communism, Alfred G. Meyer, Random House, pp. 78-86.

¹³Kenneth Colegrove, Democracy Versus Communism, Princeton, N. J., De Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1957, pp. 196-209

THE PRESIDIUM

At the top of the Communist pyramid is the Presidium. It has grown from the seeds planted by Lenin. It is a huge bureaucracy or body of officials. It now includes six million men and over a million women who carry out the orders of the Party dictators. They run the Soviet government, they control the Red Army, direct the secret policy, rule the labor camps, supervise education, plan production and consumption of goods for over two hundred million people. They manage the factories, mines, railroads and all of the collective farms.

This top executive committee of the Party called the Presidium decides what the Party and the Soviet government will do. In 1919 it was the Politburo or Political Bureau. In 1920 the Politburo included just five members; Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and two other old Bolsheviks. Lenin was chairman. In 1924 the membership increased to seven. During Stalin's dictatorship it averaged about ten members. In 1952 it increased to twenty-five. When Stalin died in 1953 its membership was reduced to ten. In mid-1957 it numbered fifteen.

Even though the Soviet constitution says the Party is ruled by the Congress of the Communist Party, the Party Congress obeys the Presidium. Party rules and the Soviet Constitution are not what they seem to be. The Party Congress is directed to elect a central committee and this committee is supposed to elect the Presidium. However, a few closely united members of the Presidium

have always run the Congress and have chosen the members of the Central Committee.

The Communist Party Congress met at least once a year under Lenin. The Party Congress met only once in about four years under Stalin.

Members of the Supreme Soviet are elected every four years on a basis of what the constitution calls "universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot". Every citizen who has reached the age of 18 is eligible to vote, irrespective of race, nationality, sex, religion, education, property status or past activities. The voter is presented with a single slate of candidates, one for each office.

W. W. Kulski, in his book, The Soviet Regime describes the 1952 Party Congress:

The Congress delegates were not elected directly by the rank and file members of the Party at the general meetings of the primary organizations (soviets). They were picked by the Party bureaucracy at regional conferences. . . . The mode of electing delegates was determined by the Central Committee, which established in advance the agenda (program of discussions) that was subsequently unanimously adopted by the Congress itself. Local Party organizations were not asked to make suggestions about the agenda. Thus everything was staged in advance by the Central Committee, whose members supplied almost all of the Congress speakers. . . . The servility of Congress delegates to the leaders on whose good graces their daily bread depended was manifested from the open meeting.¹⁴

¹⁴ W. W. Kulski, The Soviet Regime, Syracuse University Press, 1954.

Words like 'Congress', 'Committee' and 'elections' have a very different meaning from the meaning we give them in the U.S.A.

Readings and Discussion Topics.

Read - The United States and the Soviet Challenge, Foreign Relations Series, Laidlaw Brothers Publishers, River Forest, Illinois.

Study the official seal of the Soviet Union. Why is the hammer and sickle superimposed on the globe?

To understand how the communist system works you must understand why deviation is treated as a crime. How are Americans encouraged to deviate?

How do the Communist Parties in satellite countries model their program? What exception is there to the rule today?

Map Studies.

Referring to map on Page 10, The United States and the Soviet Challenge, Laidlaw Brothers Publishers, it points out countries which the Soviet Union has dominated up to 1945.

Make a large map of Russia and locate its principle resources.

What were the advantages of Russia's vast size during the Napoleonic Wars?

KHRUSHCHEV AND THE COMMUNIST DOCTRINE

Nikita S. Khrushchev is an optimist. He has said that our grandchildren will be Communists. He has said that Western culture and civilization will be buried by Communist culture.

Mr. Khrushchev bases his optimism on what he regards as a realistic appraisal of the international situation. In his Foreign Affairs article in October 1959, he challenges the United States to look at the "real" facts, the "real situation". He bids us not "to go against reality, against life itself". The clear implication of these statements is that if we see the "realities" of international politics, we too will recognize that communism is the wave of the future.

This contemporary expression of classic Marxist determinism and optimism has a bite to it because of the momentous events that have taken place since the Soviet Union was established. In his Foreign Affairs article Mr. Khrushchev makes this disquieting claim:

At present, the Socialist (Communist) countries cover about one-fourth of the territory of the globe, have one-third of its population, and their industrial output accounts for about one-third of the total world output.

In short, the world's No. 1 Communist believes that the balance of power has shifted decisively in his favor. In his power analysis, Khrushchev includes ideological and psychological factors as well as economic and military factors.

This supreme Communist confidence that the future belongs to them has ominous political implications for the free world, and especially for the United States. We can see our dilemma most sharply in Berlin. According to Khrushchev's statements recorded in this study, he feels certain that Soviet power is preponderant and, therefore, he has the capacity to impose his "solution" upon the Berlin problem. He says openly that he favors "compromise", and "coexistence", but between the lines it is all too clear that he wants these objectives only on his terms.

According to my reading of history, says Senator Hubert Humphrey, the Communists are not destined to rule the

world. I believe that the future is not closed, but open. The future belongs to those who deserve to inherit it. I believe that the open society, that genuine representative government, will not perish if those who believe in government by the people and for the people will be willing to work and fight as hard as those who believe in government by self-perpetuating elite. There is nothing automatic about the survival of democracy. As Edmund Burke said, Evil triumphs if good men fail to act. The values of free government and human dignity can survive only if we are willing to pay the price. And the price is high.¹⁵

Even though Khrushchev proclaims a doctrine of peaceful co-existence he has actually adopted the basic doctrines laid down by Lenin and Stalin.

Lenin in his hostility to the non-communist world said:

We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states; and it is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the Bourgeois is inevitable.¹⁶

After Stalin had fully consolidated his dictatorial power in 1928, he declared:

The Soviet Union harbors no illusion as to the possibility of durable peace... Wars of proletarian dictatorship against world capitalism are inevitable and revolutionary.¹⁶

Khrushchev also believes in the triumph of Communism. In 1958 he said:

It is now becoming more and more clear that the end of the sway of capitalism is drawing near in other countries, too, and that capitalism is a system that has

¹⁵Library of Congress, Khrushchev on a Shifting Balance of World Forces, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., pp. III-IV.

¹⁶Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith, The Profile of Communism, Freedom Books, New York, N. Y., pp. 16-18.

outlived its age and is bound to perish. The future is ours! The future is for Marxism--Leninism! The future is for Communism!¹⁶

And Khrushchev elaborates:

. . . The Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems has always been and remains the general line of our country's foreign policy.

It has been alleged that the Soviet Union advances the principle of peaceful coexistence out of tactical considerations, considerations of expediency. Yet it is common knowledge that we have always, from the very first years of Soviet power, stood with equal firmness for peaceful coexistence. . .

In the countries where capitalism is still strong and has a huge military and police apparatus at its disposal, the reactionary forces will of course inevitably offer serious resistance. There the transition to socialism will be attended by a sharp class, revolutionary struggle. . .

Leninism teaches us that the ruling classes will not surrender their power voluntarily. And the greater or lesser degree of intensity which the struggle may assume, the use or non-use of violence in the transition to socialism, depends on the resistance of the exploiters. . .¹⁶

Khrushchev's Secret Speech of 1956:

In February of 1956, Khrushchev felt strong enough to destroy any of the existing Stalin philosophy. His whole speech was an effort to downgrade Stalin. He drew a picture of Stalin and presented him as a paranoid, megalomaniac. He accused him of a series of criminal acts. The Communist world was shocked when it heard the violent attack. Stalin had been the godhead of the government for thirty years.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 16-18.

Khrushchev had a number of reasons for making this attack on Stalin. He wanted to destroy the power of the old Stalinists completely and he wanted to give the people and the new elite class of managers some assurance that the rule of terror was over. He also thought that he could shake up the whole structure of the party at home and abroad by this method.

Khrushchev wanted to create his own power regime. The downgrading of Stalin caused insecurity in the minds of party officials, but it raised the people's hopes and aspirations for a better life.¹⁶

The Council of Ministers is now headed by Nikita S. Khrushchev. By virtue of his official government he is the real executive head of government and is referred to as Premier Khrushchev.

There is constant danger in America since so many Americans believe every Soviet call for coexistence and the emotional schemes Khrushchev plans for disarmament. Some Americans are quick to believe that Communist leaders want to live in peace with us. From our past experiences we should know this is not true. They are aiming to dominate the world. We must not forget that the United States is their major target.

The Khrushchev policy includes:

1. To build up a strong Soviet military based on ballistic missiles.
2. Proposes to build a strong industry.
3. Supporting extreme nationalism in Asia, Africa and Latin America.
4. Giving economic and technical aid to Asia, Africa and Latin America.
5. Put his world-wide subversive apparatus in high gear.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 16-18.

It consists of local Communist parties, Communist front organizations, Communist espionage and Red propoganda. This then is Khrushchev's program. These are the tactics he is using to work toward what he describes as the inevitable trend of history: The victory of Communism.¹⁷

It is very difficult for us Americans to imagine what life in a Communist country is like. It is hard to believe that life in the Soviet Union, or China or one of the European satellites is as bad as the foes of Communism say it is.

The people of the Soviet Union have the same hopes, problems and fears as we have. It is the way Russia and communism treat their hopes, their problems and fears that makes them different. The love of a mother for her child is not confined to the non-communist world, but in Russia this family relationship is incidental to the whims of the government.

From the time of Stalin to the present day the history of the Soviet Union has been the story of a gigantic war of internal conquest. On one side were the few who ruled, on the other were the people of Russia. From the beginning of the First 5-Year Plan the tragic history of Russia had begun. The people of Russia have suffered human degradation and complete contempt for the moral and physical well being.

¹⁷Allen W. Dulles, We Can't Lick Communism Without Understanding It, Address to V.F.W. in Detroit, Aug. 22, 1960, condensed version in Readers Digest Assn., Inc., December, 1960.

Student Activities:

Reading Assignments for Advanced Students

Analysis of Khrushchev's Secret Speech of 1956, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington D. C.
Soviet Conduct in World Affairs, Alexander Dallin, New York, 1961.
Khrushchev on the Shifting Balance of World Forces, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1961. Price 30¢.

Discussion Topics:

How do the five basic elements of Khrushchev's program contradict what Khrushchev proclaims in his doctrine of peaceful coexistence?

How can the United States best combat the elements of Khrushchev's plan?

Many Americans have opposed our schools plan to teach about communism. How and why has this attitude changed.

Debate Topics:

Resolved that every High School student should understand about Communism.

Resolved that we must have knowledge about Communism in order to combat it.

Suggested Topics for Written Assignments.

Scapegoating.
I Am An American.
Frontiers in America.
Who Should go to College.

Films to view and follow with discussions.

A Desk for Billie, available from National Education Association, Washington, D. C. or N.M.E.A., Santa Fe, N. Mex.

Russian Life Today, produced in 1958 (21 min.), rental, black & white \$5.00 and color \$10.00. About the diversity of the peoples in areas of Russia; life in the cities and on the farms. Write Bailey Films, Inc., 6509 De Longore Avenue, Hollywood 28, California.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

We should guard against assuming that the harsh, inhuman methods of Stalin in forcing industrialization have left in the Soviet Union today a type of popular resentment which borders on revolt. There are several reasons why this assumption would appear to be incorrect.

First, Communist internal propaganda has sought to focus the popular gaze on the future and on the glories of building the Communist society. It has also played upon patriotic pride, especially during World War II and has stressed the themes of capitalist encirclement and "overtake America". There can be little doubt that such "propaganda of the deed" as the Soviet successes in putting the first satellite in orbit around the earth or sending the first rocket to the moon also stimulate the patriotic pride of the Soviet people.

Second, since Stalin's death, much of Stalin's harshness has been denounced by Khrushchev. It is reported that many of the slave-labor camps of Stalin's day have been disbanded and the role of the political police has been curtailed. The Soviet people today thus might feel a greater degree of personal security than they did under Stalin. In this connection we should note that, although the Soviet people are deprived of the personal freedoms which Americans value so highly, historically most of these freedoms have never been experienced by more than a small minority of the Russian people.

Third, although the average Soviet citizen may find life drab he also finds that he is making more money and receiving many more educational and health benefits than his elders did before the revolution.

Fourth, Khrushchev has changed some of the more objectionable features of life on the collective farms. He has also set up Regional Economic Councils for the purpose of "decentralizing" economic decision-making. Actually, as the Seven-Year Plan indicates, overall economic decisions are still made at the top, in Moscow. But most observers tend to agree that the Regional arrangement will give greater responsibilities to local managers which in turn may lead to greater efficiency in production.¹¹

Khrushchev makes many promises to the Soviet people. He has promised a 40 per cent real income increase between 1959 and 1965. He has also promised a 40 hour work week by 1962 and an effort to reduce the work week to 35 hours after 1964. The work week in Russia today is 46 hours.

Today it appears that the Soviet people are willing to go all out to build up the Soviet economy. There are those who think that Khrushchev has opened the way for consumer demand and public opinion to have a part in the life of the people. The structure and functions of the Soviet government today are essentially as

¹¹Ibid., p. 34.

they were under Stalin. Soviet leaders are now asking how much freedom the dictatorship can allow without weakening the Soviet system. It would not be out of question for Khrushchev to reinstate the Stalinist terror if he feels a need of it.

The Soviet policy in recent years has undergone some changes and the Stalinist regime has been publicly denounced. However, the brutal activities employed in 1956 in Hungary were much like the Stalinist measures.

Even the literary people are curbed in Russia. In 1958, Boris Pasternak, a Russian writer, refused the Nobel Prize for Literature because of pressures and insults which he received from Soviet people. Boris Pasternak was an independent writer, poet, translator and novelist who wrote the novel Doctor Zhivago during the last Stalin years and the years following Stalin's death. The novel dealt with the Civil War era in Russia, the fighting, the horror and disorder. The author was objective in relating about the misery and want. He made a strong appeal for a return to Christian ethics. The Soviet publishers did not know whether they should publish the book and it was refused by various Soviet publishers. The novel was published in Italy in 1958 and translated into many languages. In October of 1958 the Swedish Academy awarded it the Nobel Prize for Literature. At first Pasternak was grateful, thankful, touched, proud, astonished and abashed. The Communist storm began. Pasternak was even asked to leave Russia. He was called a pig and a

traitor. The Soviet Union of writers petitioned the government to strip Pasternak of his citizenship and expel him from the country.

Pasternak decided to denounce the Nobel Prize. He died May 30, 1960, after many heartaches and humiliating experiences. Thus we know the Soviet leadership will not tolerate writers who do not accept the Party line.

The Soviet people have set a goal, to catch up with the U.S.A. in production and even surpass it.

In October 1957 the world was stirred by the successful launching of the first Soviet earth satellite, the Sputnik. The success of the Soviet Sputnik made the achievements of the West look small. Russia felt it was catching up and overtaking America.

Russia's increased military power has been recognized, but the leaders of N.A.T.O. denied the superiority of Soviet military power as a total. They felt the Soviet advance was limited to intercontinental missiles, was temporary and would not last long. Many people do not believe all of the claims that Khrushchev makes regarding Russia's progress. Perhaps there has been progress but they still have a long way to go. The people are living in crowded conditions where decent privacy is next to impossible. Inadequate housing is mentioned in every report. A room for a whole family is standard in Western regions and barracks or crudely covered dugouts in the Siberian and eastern regions.

The inequalities among different classes contradicts many of Stalin's statements.

In 1932, William H. Chamberlin, an American journalist who represented the Christian Science Monitor in the U.S.S.R. counted seven different dining rooms in Magnitogorsk, the big iron and steel center in the Urals. The food served ranged in quality from plentiful, if heavy, food served to high plant officials and imported American engineers to subhuman diet allotted to the unfortunate Kulaks and political prisoners, of whom tens of thousands were employed on forced labor jobs.¹⁸

W. L. White also reported this cost system in the dining rooms of a Soviet motor factory which he visited. Much is written about the rest homes for workers, but nothing is said about the selection. Walter Citrine in his book, I Search for Truth in Russia, says an estimated three percent of the industrial workers had the privileges of a rest home in 1932.¹⁹

In the plant managed by Krovchenko at Nikopal near the Black Sea, where several of these resorts are located, only 57 out of 1,500 workers had been to a rest home during the year; however, all of the workers had deductions from their wages for this service. These are facts that the Russians try to keep from the public. The rest homes sound wonderful on paper; only investigations give the true picture.

¹⁸William H. Chamberlin, American Mercury, May 1945, p. 626.

¹⁹Walter Citrine, I Search for Truth in Russia, E. T. Dutton, New York, 1937.

Dr. Stefan T. Possony, Professor of International Politics in the Graduate School of Georgetown University and also Associate of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania, summarized Khrushchev's speech of January 6, 1961, for the U. S. Senate Sub-committee to investigate the administration of the Internal Security Act. The entire report of questions and answers is well worth reading. However here are the highlights.

DR. POSSONY'S SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

I now want to summarize my interpretation of Khrushchev's speech:

- (1) This speech, together with the declaration of the Communist Parties of November 1960, has disclosed Communist strategy as it will be employed for the next 5 years or so.
- (2) The traditional goal of communism, the conquest of the entire world, is not only reaffirmed but is held far more strongly and hopefully than in the past. It is "unthinkable" that the Communists will abandon their goal of world domination regardless of the price they have to pay. They are willing to pay any price to attain their objective.
- (3) The Communists probably are honestly convinced that they are invincible
 - (a) because of the alleged predetermination of history,
 - (b) because of their combined military-political strength,
 - (c) because of their anticipated military superiority,
 - and (d) because of the anticipated demoralization of the free world.
- (4) Communist strategy has become more sophisticated than it was under Stalin.
- (5) The Communists believe that the final decision in the world struggle, and specifically the victory of world communism, will be attained in the present era of history. In their conception, this era seems to extend to 1975, approximately.
- (6) Armed struggle is inevitable. Such specific forms of armed struggle, as liberation wars, uprisings, and "pressure from below" also are inevitable.
- (7) A global thermonuclear war is not entirely inevitable. If the free world, and especially the strongest democratic countries like the United States capitulate, then such a

war may be avoided. However, while preferable, such a development is unlikely.

(8) The Communist Parties in the free world and their sympathizers must do everything in their power to facilitate nuclear blackmail by the Soviet Union and to prevent military resistance by the free world.

(9) The Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc must not leave any stone unturned to increase their military power in order to fight the probable (albeit not inevitable) world war and to win a global thermonuclear conflict.

(10) For the time being, such conflict must be avoided. The turning point in history will come when the Soviet Union overtakes the United States, some time between 1965 and 1970. Khrushchev talks as though he conceives this competition in terms of an "economic" production race. It is more likely that he is thinking about a race in military technology. Consequently, the great turning point in history will come when the Soviet Union, irrespective of per capita production in industrial goods, achieves technologically superior armaments and attains a military force which qualitatively and quantitatively, will be superior to the military forces of the United States. If necessary, this force will be employed in the second phase of the current era.

(11) In the first phase, the armed struggle will mostly take the form of liberation wars and uprisings, plus deterrence by nuclear blackmail, on the part of the Soviets, of any military initiatives undertaken by the free world.

(12) Also, in this first phase the struggle must be intensified on the "active fronts in the underdeveloped areas." In particular, it must be pushed in Latin America.

(13) In this phase, strong efforts will be made to improve the effectiveness of uprisings. Henceforth uprisings will be planned as major military undertakings. The insurrectionists will be properly trained and be armed with the most modern equipment. They will be provided with strategic support and power by Soviet nuclear long range forces, under a coordinated strategy. International crises, such as threats of war and war alerts, may be exploited to launch insurrections.

(14) The achievement of a military, political, and psychological paralysis of the free world is a paramount objective of Soviet strategy.

(15) This objective can be attained by such means as peace propaganda, Pavlovian conditioning, infiltration, threats, and diplomatic negotiations.

(16) Propaganda on disarmament, specifically nuclear disarmament and disarmament negotiations are an integral part of the Soviet strategy aimed at paralyzing the free world and strengthening the power of communism.

(17) Soviet strategy is based, on the one hand, on achieving optimal military power and building and strengthening Communist political armies throughout the free world. On the other hand, Soviet strategy utilizes massive deception to bring about, through (a) the unilateral military weakening of the free world, (b) the moral paralysis of free world governments, and (c) the demoralization of public opinion, the capitulation of the United States.

(18) Failing in this strategy, the Soviet intends to destroy the United States by nuclear weapons. I would like to conclude by voicing my conviction that however sophisticated this current Soviet strategy may be, it is not sophisticated enough to accomplish Communist victory. The hybrid of Khrushchev is reminiscent of Hitler and foreshadows his failure. I am fortified in this belief by my realization that the course of history, contrary to Mr. Khrushchev's assumption, is not foreordained. The cause of freedom in history often was considered lost but usually good sense prevailed after democratic hesitations, and one after the other, the main threats to freedom were defeated.

Still, I am concerned that the Kremlin may have become overconfident, apparently is overrating Soviet power, and is inclined to underrate Western power and resolution. There is no question but that free world policies are partially responsible for this dangerous frame of mind. Cockiness and cocksureness have been more frequent causes of war than a rational evaluation of risks, chances, and purposes.

The errors of free world policies will not culminate in the destruction of freedom and of the democratic system of government. But if we condition the Soviet leaders to expect final victory, even by "easy delivery," many millions of citizens all over the free world will pay with their limbs and lives. To convince the Kremlin that we are not about to commit suicide, nor are going to tolerate our destruction, superior strength, sustained firmness, greater willingness to assume risks, and at long last greater comprehension of the real nature of the Communist threat, are mandatory. True to its traditions, the United States will prove worthy of its responsibilities.²⁰

²⁰ Analysis of the Khrushchev Speech of January 6, 1961, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1961, pp. 49-50.

Dr. Possony said he regarded Khrushchev's speech as one of the most outspoken and significant statements made by a leading Russian Communist in recent times.

Here we have our work charted for us. We must keep our country and our people strong. Every student in our American schools should be well versed in the importance of our American heritage.

With such a foundation students will be able to make right decisions and prove themselves worthy of the privileges which only American citizens enjoy today. They will also be prepared to counteract Communist doctrine effectively through the intelligent use of factual and authentic knowledge.

Student Activities.

Write an essay on how goals of Russian leaders were accomplished.

Which rules do you not feel justifiable?

Write your reaction to the manner in which Communist internal propaganda puts focus on the future.

Discussion Topics.

How have the Russian leaders led the people to think they can "overtake America"?

How has the Soviet success in putting the first satellite in orbit around the earth affected the pride of Russian people?

How did the Russian success with satellites affect the Americans?

Special Reading Assignments.

Analysis of the Khrushchev Speech of January 6, 1961, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1961.

Special news items and recent magazine articles which give information about recent developments in Russia.

Doctor Zhivago by Boris Pasternak.

Plan a bulletin board or a chart to show:

1. How few promises to the Russian people are kept.
2. The falacies of Russian reports.
3. How do Khrushchev's speeches disagree with his international promises.

Movies.

Communism, (32 min.) government film procured for use in the United States Army. Gives the history and nature of Communism. Also discusses Communism in the United States. Can be obtained from: United World Films, Inc., Castle Film Division, 1445 Park Avenue, New York 29, N. Y.

Opportunity U.S.A., write Modern Talking Picture Service, Omaha, Nebraska.

Set up a program in your school to welcome new students into activities of the school.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

The average American does not realize that the Communist Party is constantly attempting to plant seeds of communism through all communicative media in the United States. They are trying to find ways to poison the channels of American public opinion. A portion of this tactic is successful because of ignorance about the conspiratorial organization controlled by a foreign power. With accurate knowledge of the Communist conspiracy, fewer Americans will fall victims to the wiles of Communism.

In the United States, the international Communist movement is represented by the Communist Party, U.S.A. As the history of the Communist movement in the United States proves, the Communist Party, U.S.A. has been inspired and completely controlled by the fountainhead of World Communism and the Soviet Union. Every phase of the Party's historical development has been determined, not by any factor innate to the United States, but rather by the urgent need of Communists seeking to extend their control.

The Communist Party in the United States was organized in 1919. From 1919 to 1929 this conspiratorial party experienced its birth pangs and growing pains.²¹

The Party openly proclaimed its revolutionary goals and

²¹J. Edgar Hoover, One Nation's Response to Communism, Federal Bureau of Investigation, September 1960, p. 1.

pursued them with action. Social unrest, internal dissension and strikes found the Communists in the center of action.

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was the inspiration for the Communist Party of this nation.

This is a new season, a new epoch, in the history of mankind. These words reflect the supreme confidence of the Communist Party, U.S.A., as it envisions "the inevitable triumph of socialism!"²² These Party leaders also underscore the fact that communism today poses a serious challenge to our nation's destiny. The followers of Marxism - Leninism are determined that their system of government will replace democracy. These conspirators will stop at nothing to further their evil aims.

Since the beginning of communism about one hundred years ago it has made great strides. In 1961 one-third of the world's population knew it's terror. One-fourth of the earth's surface was under its heavy yoke. There were 36,000,000 Party members in 86 countries--including our own United States, all working for the triumph of communism. Communism is more than a political or economic doctrine. It penetrates all segments of society; religious, educational and social.

In our own country the Communist Party, U.S.A. is an integral part of the entire Communist conspiracy. Although they insist on

²²The Communist Party U.S.A., Reprint and quotes by J. Edgar Hoover, "Social Order", September 1961, pp. 1-3.

calling it a "political party in American tradition," it is dedicated to this alien ideology which is diabolically opposed to our American system. Party members vehemently uphold the tenets of Marxism-Leninism. To them, the Communist philosophy is a "guide to action",²² a doctrine which they believe will direct them toward the goal of communism in the United States.

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A. set forth the role of the Party in the February 1961 issue of the Party's theoretical journal, Political Affairs. Hall gloats that "imperialism is rapidly disintegrating in the face of rising socialism, and reiterates that reactionary forces cannot halt the advance of Communism.. Capitalism is a doomed system".²¹

As Party leader in this country, Hall urges fanatical effort by Party members on a day to day basis. Full commitment of members is an essential ingredient of communism; the constant working day and night, year after year. Party members are urged to help ignite the revolution. He declares the Party cannot realize its goal if it merely engages in condemning capitalism.

The Communist Party, U. S. A. claims that it is now more virile and revolutionary than ever before.²¹

According to Hall the Party is growing in depth and breadth in the United States.

²¹Ibid., pp. 1-3.

²²Ibid., pp. 1-3.

The Communist plan is to maintain close ties with the masses and without letting their identity known keep contact with the people in the shops, in organizations, in all walks of life. It means working closely with "the proletariat" and "educating" it as to where its real interests lie.

The tactic of infiltration is most important. The placing of Communists in organizations; such as civic, religious and economic groups and also in labor unions, is an effective technique in spreading communism.

Publicly the Communists boast that their purpose in "working in" organizations is to fight for higher wages, more jobs, peace and civil rights. Actually, they use these issues merely as subterfuges to advance the Cause of Communism. Listen to the words of Hall:

The problem is not one of sending people into organizations. Many are already there. The central question is for us to help our members, our clubs, our leaders to carry on political activities where they are.²²

Most vital is the Party's program among young people. In one speech Hall said:

We must develop, train and draw in younger forces.

In the fall of 1961 a monthly publication called, New Horizons for Youth was launched. It is described as a "progressive" forum for discussing the issues confronting young people. Nowhere

²²Ibid., pp. 1-3.

is it stated that the editor, Daniel Ruben, is none other than the National Youth Director of the Communist Party, U.S.A. This publication viciously criticizes this nation's institutions and parrots the Communist line.

The Communists have stepped up their activities with youths. The organization, which calls itself the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee, is fully supported by the Communists. Hypocrisy has seldom known higher limits of deceit.

The Communist Party, U.S.A. has been declared an agency of a foreign power (Russia) and all members are required under the Smith Act to register as foreign agents. No such registrations have been made and currently the Justice Department is pressing criminal charges against the party leadership for violation of the act. The New York Federal Grand Jury recently returned indictments against Hall and Company.

Some U.S.A. Party members have been first-generation Americans who found it difficult to become assimilated into American life. The Party has attracted the lonely, frustrated, unattractive and unpopular young people. However, the Party doesn't attract many neurotics.

Communist life is hard and disciplined; neurotics of any kind dislike discipline. Communists are highly distrustful of such people and, in general, keep them out of the Party by encouraging them as fellow travelers, a role in which they are extremely

useful.²³

They seldom become Communists, for they do not wish to share Communist discipline or hardships. But they run Party errands, give or raise money. They sometimes lend their houses for secret meeting places. They may receive secret mail for the Party. Often they prefer not to know the meaning of what they are doing. The thrill of doing it is its own reward.²³

The Communist Party, U.S.A. is made up of more people from the middle class; however, there are some business men in the Party and there are even a few millionaires who give their money to the Party.

In his book, Where We Came Out, Granville Hicks, author and former teacher, has explained why a number of American intellectuals became Communists in the 1930's. The group for which he speaks was not composed of social misfits and failures. By and large, he says, they were men and women who were doing well in their professions and seemed as stable and as happy in their personal lives as the average non-communist . . .²⁴

Hicks says, It was the switch in the Party line in 1935 that brought in many Communist sympathizers, including Mr. Hicks. In this fascinating story Mr. Hicks tells how he was tricked.

²³ Communism, Menace to Freedom, Articles Adapted from Readers Digest, 1962, Pleasantville, New York.

²⁴ Granville Hicks, Where We Came Out, Viking Press, New York, 1954.

The great evil of Communism, says Hicks now, is not that it uses vicious persons, as it sometimes does, but that it corrupts good ones. . . Most of them fortunately, got out of the Party before they were wholly corrupted, but not all. . . .²⁴

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has developed some excellent information in, A Handbook for Americans, in the hope of alerting the American people to the real nature of the enemy in our midst and the insidious character of the methods employed by the Communist Party, U.S.A. We must realize that we are dealing with a movement which is constantly fluid, constantly varied and elusive. We must constantly be alert and informed to combat such a force.

Discussion Topics.

Related to the Communist Party, U.S.A. How does the treatment of minorities in the U. S. compare to the treatment of minorities in Russia?

Compare geographical features of U. S. and U.S.S.R.

How do the two countries compare in population? In area?

Why doesn't the Communist Party attract neurotics?

How does Communism recruit intelligent people?

What price have the Communists paid for their achievements?

How do the Communists plan to gain control of non-Communist countries?

²⁴Ibid.

Activities.

On a world map chart the spots where Communism has moved in.

Make a graph showing how Communism has grown in numbers.

Movie.

"Communism at Work", write to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C., for information on film.

HOW TO BEAT COMMUNISM

Every master of strategy in a competitive contest will testify that the best defense is a well-planned vigorous offensive based on thorough knowledge of one's opponent.²⁵

We must take it upon ourselves to understand deeply the radical nature of communism. We must remember that we are dealing with a spirit that hates everything fundamentally Western. We must, therefore, cement more deeply Western unity; for it is the whole of civilization that is at stake.

We must work to win under conditions of peace, however, if we must go to war we must fight a decisive victory.

We must learn the apparent differences and contradictions between the diverse centers of communism.

We must never think of the people under Communist rule as being like their rulers. Even though some of the most rigid penalties against workers have been relaxed in Russia, the working man is one of the most down-trodden in history, living at a bare subsistence level, chained to a job which he may hate, he is at the mercy of a never-ending system of controls. Real wages have declined and the cost of living has increased, even when men work to the limit of their physical endurance they barely eke out an existence. The women too have been forced into the factories

²⁵ How to Beat Communism, reprint from "The Lion", Oct. 57, J. Edgar Hoover, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Dept. of Justice, Washington, D. C., p. 1.

and sent to the farms. The state owned national nurseries take over the care of the three year old children to release mothers for work. In the nurseries the children are taught the doctrines and accomplishments of communist leaders with pictures and stories. These people are truly slaves. Surely many of these people would escape if they could.

We must be strong, wise and firm in our leadership.

We must recognize the manner in which Communists get others to do their dirty work.

We must assume the offensive against communism on every front.

We must forge ahead always. We must be able to anticipate the next communist move. "As the medical man must know the symptoms of an illness before he can diagnose it, the citizen must understand the nature of communism before he can combat it".²⁵ We should all be cognizant of the nature of the Communist enemy and reveal it to every American citizen.

Communism is the enemy of the intellectual, the true liberal, the Christian, the Jew, the Moslem - or anyone who believes in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Let us be the friend.

Educators must go beyond the dictionary definition. We must explore the evil which flows from the philosophy of communism and

²⁵ Ibid., p. 2.

reveal the fate of our students.

Communism is fanatically opposed to religion. Men and women in the field of religion must play a vital role to inform our youth about this.

Since the Party's greatest appeal everywhere is to young people we must give our youth the knowledge to develop wisdom and discernment essential if we are to deal effectively with the enemy.

J. Edgar Hoover says, We must fight communism sanely for the Communist Party today is waging an aggressive campaign against all sectors of American national life.²⁶

Always we must remember that Communists are atheists. They deny that God exists and disparage mortality based on religious principles. "Religion is the opium of the people", Karl Marx declared. "We remain the atheists that we have always been", echoed Nikita Khrushchev. The party takes every opportunity to criticize religion. The recent Soviet space flights are a good example.

"Yuri Gagarin (The Soviet Cosmonaut) really has given a headache to believers!" Izvestia, the Soviet newspaper commented in an article entitled, "What is God?"

"He flew right through the heavenly mansions and did not run

²⁶J. Edgar Hoover, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Reprinted from Christian Herald, January, 1962.

into anyone: neither the Almighty, nor Archangel Gabriel, nor the Angels of heaven. It seems, then, that the sky is empty!"²⁶

The overwhelming majority of clergy, says J. Edgar Hoover are setting a wonderful example. The Communist realizes that these men of God are their opponents. But even one clergyman who in anyway gives aid to the Communist movement is one too many. We must all work together to protect the nation we love.

J. Edgar Hoover also says it is not enough to call communism evil, or a threat. It is important that we know what this threat constitutes - why we describe communism as something totally undesirable. We must know it's true nature, it's appeal and it's tactics. We must also know how to combat this danger in an effective manner.

There are many things we Americans can do to combat communism. Let us review briefly:

We must be informed.

We must be aware of the strengths of democracy.

We must be informed about American history, the heritage and traditions we believe in.

We must know the truth and our nations struggle for freedom.

Democratic heritage must come alive through example and our daily actions.

We must participate in community affairs.

We must exercise our right to vote.

²⁶Ibid.

We must choose those who represent us with utmost care.

We must respect the rights of others to be individuals, for this is the essence of democracy.

We must allow truth, not prejudice, to sway our thinking.

We must be sure that our young people realize the advantages of freedom. The home, school and church should cooperate in this program.

We must teach each child to be a responsible citizen.

We must appreciate the privileges which come to us as a result of government in the home, school, community, state and nation.

We must appreciate the freedom of worship.

We must know the Pledge of Allegiance to our flag and live up to it.

We must know about the contributions made by our forefathers and respect the heritage which is ours.

We must understand our laws and obey them.

We must have knowledge and appreciation of our relations with our World Neighbors.

We must understand that our way of life appears as different to other nations as their way of life does to us.

We must learn to distinguish between facts, opinions and propaganda.

and finally;

Our responsibility, it seems to me, is to counter emotional outbursts with quiet, truth, amateurish approaches with professional presentations; and nonsense with facts.²⁷

Dr. James B. Conant in his book, Germany and Freedom, warns us

²⁷The Responsibility of Schools for Instruction on Communism in the Public Schools, Comment of Rodger Swearingen, Director, Soviet-Asian Studies Center, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, p. 4.

against impatience. Patience is a difficult quality for us Americans to acquire. It is, however, one of great importance in combating communism.

Teachers should seek materials from reference lists of national associations, state departments of education and reputable academic institutions and resist materials which have a distorted approach.

Intelligent use of factual and authentic knowledge about the aims, methods, strengths and weaknesses of communism is the most effective way to counteract it, says Dr. Richard I. Miller, Associate Director of N.E.A. Project on the Instructional Program of the Public Schools.²⁸

Student Activities.

List ten ways to beat Communism.

Make a scrapbook of clippings. Comb newspaper articles for patriotic activities which you feel will help to strengthen democracy.

Clip articles which site activities which you feel are unintelligent for fighting Communism. Write your reasons for disapproval and file with the article.

Movies.

"Universal Declaration of Human Rights". Available from Extension Division, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska.

²⁸An Approach to Teaching About Communism in Public Secondary Schools, by Dr. Richard I. Miller, Phi Delta Kappan, February, 1962, p. 189.

Reading Assignments for Discussion.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO Information Service, Washington, D. C., pamphlets free.

Our America, Organization of American States Publications, Pan American Union Building, Washington, D. C., Write Public Affairs Pamphlets, New York: Public Affairs Committee.

Debate Topics.

Resolved that every American should have an understanding of the Communist Party.

Resolved that the rise of the Communist bloc is a significant world development.

Written Assignment.

List the factors which you believe contribute most to the morale of a nation. How does the Soviet Union measure up to your criteria?

Do you feel that the United States has a historic mission to carry the blessings of democracy to all peoples of the world?

SUGGESTIONS FOR CULMINATING ACTIVITIES

Review the basic documents leading to the Declaration of Independence.

Review the basic documents of American history; consider the basic freedoms defined in these documents.

Examine democracy as a form of government.

Make lists of rights and privileges important to all people.

How many statements can you list which are indicative of the democratic way of life?

How many statements can you list that describe the Communist way of life?

Review understandings of totalitarian systems in Germany, Italy and Russia.

Group students in committees to report on: History of Communism.

Write short biographies of Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev.

Discussion Topics.

Methods Communists use to spread propaganda.

Communist doctrine and policy today.

Communist Party rule of Soviet Russia.

Labor in the Soviet Union.

Agriculture in the Soviet Union.

Art & Music in the Soviet Union.

Learning Experiences and Activities.

Have students identify and label:

(a) Nations which are democracies.

(b) Nations that belong to the Communist bloc.

Have a panel discussion using the following topics:

(1) Trouble spots in the world today.

(2) Critical issues and the free world's problem.

Have an oral report on:

- (1) Cold War.
- (2) Areas of competition.
- (3) Scientific developments in America and Russia.

Have Students Read and Report on:

"A President's Address That was Never Delivered", by Dwight D. Eisenhower, he planned to deliver this speech in Leningrad in May, 1960.

"The Meaning of Communism to Americans", by Mr. Richard Nixon. Here Mr. Nixon tells how to combat communism.

"Masters of Deceit", by J. Edgar Hoover.

Individual Students may prepare papers on selected topics such as:

The Soviet Party since 1917.
How Communism affects Americans.
How to fight Communism.

Plan a round table discussion in which individuals contrast communism with democracy.

Permit students to write an evaluation of the unit. Request suggestions for improving the unit.

Teachers may evaluate the growth of the students in the development of attitudes, appreciations and understandings.

Teacher evaluates his teaching by asking:

1. Does the student demonstrate respect for the dignity and worth of every individual?
2. Does the student have the proper knowledge about the United States of America?
3. Does the student appreciate the American way of life and the American heritage?
4. Does the student use good judgment in making decisions?
5. Is the student capable of critical thinking?
6. Does the student show a willingness to defend democracy?
7. Does the student understand the nature and purpose of communism?
8. Is the student equipped to withstand the brainwashing technique of the Communists?
9. Does the student know the evils of communism?
10. Has this unit helped to make the student a force that will inspire others to appreciate the American heritage of democracy?

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COMPARING TWO SOCIETIES
DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM

RELIGION

In a Democracy

1. The individual may choose and support the religion of his choice.
2. Churches are tax exempt. Social encouragement is practiced as is tolerance for everyone's choice of worship.
3. There is complete separation of church and state.

Under Communism

1. The state says religion is the opiate for the people.
2. Religious worship is discouraged. Churches are penalized and churchmen persecuted to abolish religion.
3. The state uses the church as a propaganda tool.

EDUCATION

In a Democracy

1. Every individual has free choice of schools and studies.
2. The individual is educated to have a high regard for intellectual and moral truth.
3. Everyone may pursue education to his extreme ability.
4. The individual is taught to think and to be creative.
5. Each individual may follow his own talents.

Under Communism

1. The state directs education for its needs.
2. The Party dictates and trains mainly for technical skills and obedience to the state.
3. Only the ones who are politically reliable may graduate.
4. Trains mainly for technical skills and obedience to the state. Discourages critical thinking.
5. The state teaches what to think and what to create.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

In A Democracy

1. Citizens have free choice of candidates.
2. Individual may choose his party or be independent.
3. Citizens are permitted secret ballot.
4. Write in candidates are permitted.
5. The constitution has real meaning.
6. Any citizen may be a candidate for office if he so desires.
7. The people live under a government of laws.
8. Citizens control government along with a majority of his fellow citizens by his vote.

Under Communism

1. There is only one list of candidates.
2. The state permits only the Communist Party.
3. Outcome of elections predetermined.
4. Write in candidates are not permitted.
5. The constitution is a propaganda device.
6. Party selects nominees for office.
7. One man or a small group of men dominates.
8. Government is controlled by the Communist Party.

HUMAN RIGHTS

In a Democracy

1. Each individual has freedom of speech, press, etc.
2. Everyone has free access to any outside sources of news and information.
3. Criticism of government by private citizens, press, creative artists or political opponents is permitted.
4. Women are treated with added respect.

Under Communism

1. The state controls and censors all newspapers, radio, etc.
2. All information is strictly controlled. Foreign radio broadcasts often jammed.
3. All writings are subject to censorship. Choices of reading materials restricted to state approved lists.
4. Women are assigned to tasks of heavy physical labor, degrading to the dignity of womanhood.

LABOR

In a Democracy

1. Unions are independent self-governing organizations free of government influence.
2. An individual may join a union if he wishes.
3. A worker may bargain collectively with his employer.
4. The worker has a right to strike with his union.
5. The worker has a right to travel and work where he pleases.
6. The worker is a free man and may work when and where he pleases.
7. The laborer enjoys one of the highest standards of living in the world.

Under Communism

1. Unions are instruments of the state; dedicated to achieve Party goals in industry.
2. The state requires every worker to join a state dominated union.
3. The state prohibits bargaining.
4. The worker is penalized if he strikes.
5. The state requires the worker to have a permit to travel.
6. The state employs slave labor. People are told what, where and when to work.
7. The laborer is allowed only a basic minimum of consumer goods.

TRIAL BY JURY

In a Democracy

1. The citizen has the right of habeas corpus.
2. The citizen has a right to a speedy, fair and public trial.
3. Citizens found guilty given chance to reform.
4. The courts are independent of other branches of government.

Under Communism

1. The right of habeas corpus does not exist.
2. Trials for citizens are indefinite and prolonged. Confessions are extracted by torture.
3. Citizens found in conflict with the Party are sent to labor camps.
4. The courts are instruments of the state.

ARREST AND SEARCH

In a Democracy

1. Police are subject to legal authority of the courts.
2. Law requires a warrant or charge for arrest and search.

Under Communism

1. Secret police are required to be Party members with no legal restrictions.
2. Secret police arrest and search without a charge or a warrant.

ECONOMIC PROPERTY

In a Democracy

1. The citizen has a right to private ownership of property. This right is recognized and protected.
2. Private persons may own factories and machines for production.
3. Production of goods is intended for the competitive market.
4. Goods are produced in response to demand of consumers.

Under Communism

1. The individual can own only personal property, small homes and household belongings.
2. The state owns or controls instruments of production.
3. The state controls markets.
4. Consumer preferences are ignored. The state decides what, how much and what quality.

COMMUNIST TERMS

Bolshevism

A term derived from the Russian word for majority. Bolshevism is what most people understand today as communism.

Bourgeoisie

A name applied to the capitalist class, which included the wealthy and the middle-class in Russia.

Brainwashing

A standard practice of all Communist parties which they call criticism and self-criticism. The mental torture may continue over a long period. The tortured finally accuses himself.

Cadre

The inner communist circle of trained members and leaders. The Party can depend on these members to carry out policies and programs without any questions or objections.

Capitalism

An economic system in which ownership of natural resources and the production, distribution and exchange of goods, are controlled by private enterprise under competitive conditions (Webster). Communists consider capitalism to be a form of exploitation of man by man. To them, capitalism is the last economic system of exploitation in the social evaluation of man. They feel that capitalism will be succeeded by socialism and finally will end in a world Communist society. Americans know better.

Centrism

A term of contempt to Communists, identifying those who deny undeviating obedience to the Party line. "Centrists" wobble between the "Lefts and the Rights". Centrism is a political concept.

Class

To Communists class means a section of a given population that occupies specific relation to the means of production; (1) The Capitalists or Bourgeoisie, and (2) The wage-earners or working class or proletariat. The Communists admit there is another group (as in the U.S.A.) called the middle class. This middle class is composed of small merchants, farmers, professional people and small businessmen.

Class Struggle

a perpetual warfare which is sometimes masked and sometimes open between oppressor and oppressed.

Cold War

A state of tension such as has existed between the Soviet Union and the Western powers.

Collective Farm

A government-operated farm, made up quite often of many small farms, confiscated by the Communist government.

Cominform

Nine Communist parties established a Communist Information Bureau or Cominform. The purposes of the Cominform were: (1) To consolidate Soviet power in eastern and central Europe (2) To

intensify Communist political warfare in Western Europe (3) Create the appearance of equality and democracy in relationships among Communist parties in the Soviet world. The Cominform was officially disbanded in April, 1956.

Comintern

Created by Lenin, served as the general staff of the world revolution, founded in 1919 and dissolved in 1943.

Communism

An integrated, centralized, world-wide movement, motivated by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Communist China

Maoism developed by the top Chinese Communist leader, Mao Tse-tung, for Communist conquest of power in China. The vast majority of China's 650,000,000 people are peasants.

De-Stalinization

The downgrading of Stalin after his death in 1953.

Dialectial Materialism

Communists term for their theory of social change. It is adopted from a German philosopher, Hegel. Every force in the life of a society brings into existence an opposing force according to dialectical materialism. A third force then results from the clash between the two.

Dialectics

The word is derived from Greek, meaning the art of discourse, reasoning and debate.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Marx meant a dictatorship of the working class over the defeated capitalists, landlords and other exploiters.

Fifth Column

Traitors inside a country.

Iron Curtain

Where Communist nations have blocked free flow of persons and ideas across their frontiers.

Kremlin

Located in Moscow, the supreme seat of Soviet government.

Purges

The expulsion of undesirable members to keep the party pure.

Proletariat

Workers of working class.

Reds

Another name for Communists, derived from their Red flag.

Soviets

The Russian word Soviet means council. The first Soviet formed spontaneously in the Russian Revolution of 1905. Under Stalin, Soviets were essentially legislative in function.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND RESOURCES

The State Department of Education has received inquiries concerning resource materials for teaching about communism. This Bibliography has been prepared to guide teachers in choosing materials. Most of the categories for study are included. There are, however, many other excellent references not listed. For the compilation of this list we have drawn heavily on the list prepared by the National Council for the Social Studies of the National Education Association, the U. S. Government Printing Office publications and those suggested by the American Bar Association.

*Items marked with an asterisk are indicated by publishers as being suitable for use by pupils.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE PUBLICATIONS

(The following may be ordered by writing to the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.)

*U. S. Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities, Vol. 1. Facts on Communism, Facts on the Communist Ideology, 1960. 135 pp. 45¢.

This volume presents a survey of the entire body of ideas that make up communist ideology.

*U. S. Congress, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Analysis of the Khrushchev Speech of January 6, 1961. 101 pp. 30¢.

Stefan T. Possony gives his interpretation of Khrushchev's speech of January 6, 1961. Possony deals with specific sections of the speech. This publication includes what Possony believes Khrushchev is saying about the communist objectives, peace, the role of war, colonialism, disarmament, and the use of parliaments to secure communist objectives.

*U. S. Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities.
Language As a Communist Weapon. 53 pp. 20¢.

Stefan T. Possony maintains that the manipulation of Language constitutes one of the communists' most potent weapons in their drive for world domination. Possony identifies numerous terms used by the communists that have different meaning in our society.

*U. S. Congress, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.
Wordsmanship: Semantics as a Communist Weapon. 18 pp. 10¢.

Stefan T. Possony presents another brief study of the terms used by the communists to confuse the Western World. Possony writes that ". . . language is not only a tool to communists. It also can be used, or abused, as a weapon, to mislead, to create wrong impressions, and to induce false thinking."

*U. S. Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities,
Vol. II. Facts on Communism, the Soviet Union from Lenin to Khrushchev. 367 pp. \$1.25.

This volume is devoted to the emergence and growth of bolshevism-communism in Tsarist Russia, its seizure of power there, the transformation of the old regime into the Soviet government, and the history of the Soviet Union during the past four decades. It deals, in the main, with Soviet domestic affairs.

*U. S. Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities.
The Communist Conspiracy--Strategy and Tactics of World Communism, Part I, Communism Outside the United States, Section A: Marxist Classics, 1956, Section C: The World Congress of the Communist International, 1956. (Section A, 202 pp., 60¢; Section C, 372 pp., \$1.00).

In Section A are found writings of Marx, Engels, Plekhanov, Lenin, and Stalin. These writings represent some of the most important pronouncements by the Communist leaders. Section C contains action taken by the communists during the first seven meetings of the World Congress of the Communist Party. These publications will give the teacher first-hand information on the objectives of the Communist Party.

*U. S. Congress, Senate Internal Security Manual (Revised), 1961. 496 pp. \$1.25.

Provides a comprehensive, up-to-date reference of laws, orders and regulations relating to the internal security of

the United States.

*United States Supreme Court Reports, Preliminary, Vol. 367, No. 1. Opinions in Communist Party Cases, June 5, 1961. 302 pp. \$1.00.

This document presents the majority opinion as well as the dissenting opinions of the United States Supreme Court in which the authority of the Subversive Activities Control Board was upheld.

*U. S. Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities. Organized Communism in the United States, 1959. 153 pp. 45¢.

Contains the texts of many communist calls, conventions, constitutions, manifestos, directives, and statements pertaining to the American Communist Movement issued and adopted between the year 1919 and 1958.

*U. S. Congress, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Contradictions of Communism, 1959. 54 pp. 20¢.

This publication serves as a preliminary guide to the conflicting nature and inconsistencies of the dogma of Marxism-Leninism.

*U. S. Congress House Committee on Un-American Activities. The Ideological Fallacies of Communism, 1957. 25 pp. 15¢.

A brief presentation of some of the ideological fallacies of communism.

*U. S. Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities. International Communism (The Communist Mind), 1957. 14 pp. 15¢.

Facts designed to promote further insight into the motivating forces of international communism are presented.

*Hoover, J. Edgar. Expose of Soviet Espionage, May, 1960. 41 pp. 15¢.

A report on the espionage activities against this country by the Soviets.

*U. S. Congress, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Communist Appeal to Youth Aided by New Organizations. 38 pp. 15¢.

A report on the communist activities relating to youth with special reference to a communist front--the Fair Play for Cuba committee.

*U. S. Congress, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.
The Communist Party Line. 6 pp. 10¢.

An explanation of the meaning of the phrase Communist Party Line by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

*U. S. Congress, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.
The Communist Party of the United States of America. 101 pp. 30¢.

This study points up some of the significant activities of the Communist Party of the United States.

*U. S. Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities.
Communist Target - Youth. 18 pp. 15¢.

A report by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, illustrating communist strategy and tactics in the rioting which occurred during House Committee on Un-American hearing, San Francisco, May 12-14, 1960.

*U. S. Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities.
Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications. 248 pp. 70¢.

This publication defines a communist front, tells how fronts are established, and lists the organizations that have been listed as communists or communists fronts by Federal authorities.

*The Library of Congress. Khrushchev on the Shifting Balance of World Power. 13 pp. 15¢.

A selection of statements by Khrushchev on the shifting balance of world forces, most of them made during the Soviet-manufactured Berlin crisis of 1958-59.

*Department of State. Soviet World Outlook--A Handbook of Communist Statements. 247 pp. \$1.25.

A handbook of major statements by communist leaders from Marx to Khrushchev.

*U. S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws. The Technique of Soviet Propaganda. Report. Eighty-sixth Congress, second session. 38 pp. 15¢.

Describes in detail the technical means of Soviet propaganda, the psychological means used and the seven common fallacies of communism. It also provides constructive proposals for countering this formidable propaganda and conspiracy machine maintained by the Soviet.

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

(Teachers may be able to secure these materials from their local bar association.)

*Resolutions and Report of the Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives, August, 1960. 55 pp. Free.

This document relates to the tactics and strategy, objectives, the Soviet judicial system, and ways to meet the communist menace.

*A report of the Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy, and Objectives. Peaceful Co-Existence--A Blueprint for Disruption, May, 1961. 58 pp. Free.

An explanation of the meaning of "Peaceful Co-Existence" by using statements made by Party officials for documentation.

FLORIDA BAR ASSOCIATION

(For this publication write to the Florida Bar Association, Tallahassee, Florida)

The Meaning of Communism. 15 pp. Free.

An introduction to the ideology of communism.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

(Write to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C.)

*Hoover, J. Edgar. An Analysis of the National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A. 8 pp. No charge.

A report of the program of action taken by the Communist Party of the United States as it relates to the various aspects of our society.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Bauer, Raymond A.: Inkeles, Alex: and Kluckhohn, Clyde.
How the Soviet System Works. New York: Random House, 1960.
296 pp. \$1.25.

An investigation of Russian daily life, based on the data obtained through interviews and questionnaires administered to thousands of refugees from the Soviet Union in 1950-51, the social and psychological conditions in the Soviet system are described. The writers, sociologists and anthropologists, are affiliates of Harvard's Russian Research Center.

Bereday, George Z. and Pennar, Jaan, eds. The Politics of Soviet Education. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960.
217 pp. \$1.85.

A series of essays which provide information about changes in Soviet educational theory and practice since 1958-59. A general review of education plus consideration of certain specialized aspects--technical education, party control, class tensions, anti-religious aspects, teacher training and extra-curricular activities.

*Bohlman, Edna McCaull. Democracy and Its Competitors. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1960. 32 pp. 40¢.

This booklet gives a concise, clearly-written comparison between democracy and communism with substantial facts for defending the democratic system.

*Caldwell, John C. Communism in Our World. New York: John Day, 1956. 126 pp. \$2.75.

The author speaks from an extensive experience with communism throughout the world and especially in the Far East and Korea. He says: "I have not attempted to go deeply into communist theory with its devious twists and turns.-- Rather, I have tried to answer in simple language questions: What is communism? How did it begin? What is it like in actual operation? Why is it bad? What are we doing to protect ourselves?"

*Colegrove, Kenneth. Democracy Versus Communism. Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1957. 424 pp. Text ed. \$3.96.

A direct look at the realities of life under communism and under democracy and at the underlying principles of these

two ideologies that are competing for men's allegiance today.

*Cronyn, George W. A Primer on Communism: 200 Questions and Answers. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1960. 192 pp. \$2.95.

Questions were selected as typical ones most frequently asked on the subject. Presented in simple language, the material is designed to provide rudimentary knowledge of the subject while avoiding theoretical discussions of communist ideology.

Draper, Theodore. American Communism and Soviet Russia. New York: The Viking Press, 1960. 558 pp. \$8.50.

Deals with the formative years of the communist party in the United States and the relation of American communism to Soviet Russia. Shows how the COMINTERN helped financially and directly to influence decisions of the local party.

Fearey, Robert A. The U. S. Versus the U.S.S.R.: Ideologies in Conflict. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959. 48 pp. \$1.00.

This monograph suggests that the contest between communism and Western civilization has deeper roots and will be decided on more fundamental issues than such matters as treaty alignments, industrial production rates, trade and aid programs, numbers of military divisions, and power and accuracy of missiles.

Garthoff, Raymond L. Soviet Strategy in the Nuclear Age. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958. 283 pp. \$5.00.

Includes a discussion of military organization, military posture, air power, sea power, land power and missile strength. Also, an analysis of strategy for 1970 and beyond.

Gunther, John. Inside Russia Today. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958. 550 pp. \$5.95.

The author says: "What I have tried to do most of all, with what measure of success I do not know, is give a picture of this cumbrous, slippery giant, with its evolving strains and issues--to try, perhaps vainly, to convey to the reader something of what it is like, its essential quality and atmosphere since Stalin's death. Also, I have included (a) some brief historical passages, because an indispensable key to what is going on in Russia is its continuity with the past; (b) an informal Who's Who of Russian leaders, especially

those about whom information is otherwise scant; and (c) descriptive material about major Soviet sights and cities."

Hoover, J. Edgar. Masters of Deceit. The Story of Communism in America and How to Fight it. New York: Henry Holt, 1958. 374 pp. \$5.00. Pocket Books 50¢.

"My purpose has been to assemble, organize and present basic, everyday facts of Communism which will be of maximum help to the people of our country in recognizing and fighting the enemy in our midst."

Hunt, R. N. Carew. The Theory and Practice of Communism, An Introduction. New York: Macmillan Company, 1961. 267 pp. \$4.00.

The communist theory as enunciated by Marx and Engels; the influence of Marx's doctrine upon the European labor movement in the nineteenth century; and the revolutionary movement in which Lenin made his own interpretation of Marx's dogma make up the contents of this book.

Hunt, R. N. Carew. A Guide to Communist Jargon. New York: Macmillan Company, 1957. 169 pp. \$3.50.

Fifty basic terms used by the communists to express their ideology are defined in current Soviet usage.

*Kirchner, Walther. History of Russia. College Outline Series. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1958. 329 pp. Paper \$1.75; cloth \$2.75.

A summary of events from earliest times with chronological table, maps and charts.

Keenan, George F. Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin. Boston: Little, Brown, 1961. 411 pp. \$5.75.

A comprehensive treatment of events from the Russian Revolution to the end of the Second World War. Suitable for providing background information for teachers and advanced students. Based on lectures given at Harvard and Oxford.

*Lee, Baldwin, Capitalism and Other Economic Systems. C-A-S-E Economic Literacy Series No. 2. Washington, D.C.: Council for Advancement of Secondary Education, 1959. 122 pp. \$1.00.

This book traces the development of capitalism, communism, fascism and socialism, and appraises each from the point of

view of freedom and democracy. Helps the student to understand and appreciate more fully our own free enterprise economy.

*Lengyel, Emil. The Soviet Union: The Land and Its People. New York: Oxford Book, 1961. 92 pp. Retail 65¢; School 50¢.

The scope of this pamphlet is limited to a description of the land and its people, their historical background, some of their folkways, their manner of making a living and their political system. In this revised edition the material has been brought up to date and new material on the Soviet economic system has been added.

*Mansfield, Harold. How Wide We Stray. New York: Ballantine Books, 1960. 208 pp. 50¢.

A provocative, informative documentary novel based on an actual visit to the Soviet Union which took place in 1958. A fast-moving narrative with a love story and with suspense to hold the reader's interest while he rather unwittingly absorbs economic and ideological issues.

*Mares, Delia. Know Your Enemy: Communism's Challenge to This Generation. Houston, Texas: Gulf Publishing Company, 1961. 260 pp. \$4.95.

"An admirably lucid and terse description of the true nature of the enemy, the good along with the wicked." Considerable attention is given to an analysis and description of the life and teachings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. Contains a glossary of communist terms and a bibliography.

*Meyer, Alfred G. Communism. New York: Random House. 217 pp. 95¢.

This is an introduction to Communism in its various guises, for anyone who wants to study the subject from Marx to the present day. The author is a professor at Michigan State University.

Mosely, Philip E. The Kremlin and World Politics: Studies in Soviet Policy and Action. New York: Vintage Books, 1960. 557 pp. \$1.65.

A selection of twenty-five articles written by the author on Soviet affairs.

Overstreet, Harry A., and Overstreet, Bonaro. What We Must

Know About Communism. New York: W. W. Norton, 1958. 348 pp. \$3.95.

A survey of Marxist principles and an examination of the Russian Revolution, present-day communism, the foreign policies of the Soviet Union and the significance of these policies for the individual American. Suitable for school use and for the general reader. Contains bibliography and index.

Pesttrak, Lazar. The Grand Tactician. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 64 University Place, New York 3, 1961. 296 pp. \$6.00.

This book attempts to consolidate the information known about Khrushchev. It is not a biography in the usual sense of the word but a presentation of facts and circumstances which made it possible for Khrushchev to emerge as the strongest man in the Kremlin. Khrushchev's role in the Great Purge of the nineteen-thirties, in the glorification of Stalin and the collectivization of agriculture are revealed.

*Platig, E. Raymond. The United States and the Soviet Challenge. Chicago: Foreign Relations Series, Laidlaw Brothers Publishers, 1961. 67 pp. 75¢.

Presents the historical and geographical background of the Soviet Union. Examines some of the basic concepts of communist doctrine, relating them to Soviet domestic and foreign policy. Soviet-American relations are considered within the perspective of current issues.

*The Profile of Communism: A Fact-by-Fact Primer. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961. 119 pp. 95¢.

This book is in question and answer form and is based on the Freedom Pamphlet, "Primer on Communism," published in 1951. Part I deals with the Communist program, movement, tactics and techniques. Part II deals with the Soviet Empire, totalitarian nature of the Soviet world, economy and labor in the Soviet world, and Communist China.

Possony, Stefan T. A Century of Conflict: Communist Techniques of World Revolution. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1953. 439 pp. \$7.50.

The communist techniques in revolutions from 1848 to 1948 are depicted. The methods, tactics and strategy by which the author believes the communists hope to win a war with the United States are outlined. The author also suggests a strategy

which he believes would permit the West "to work toward a gradual modification, contraction and replacement of Soviet rule".

*Raab, Earl. The Anatomy of Nazism. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith, 1961. 40 pp. 35¢.

This booklet focuses on the Nazi era as a particularly revealing example of totalitarianism in thought and action. In the concluding chapter the author examines the basic totalitarian accents of both Nazism and Communism and measures them against the accents of democracy. Supplemented by 20 pages of photographs and a bibliography.

Rossiter, Clinton. Marxism: The View from America. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1960. 338 pp. \$6.75.

A critical study of Marxist teachings about man, society, government and history from the vantage point of American democracy. The author, one of our foremost students of government, proceeds to dissect Marxist teaching about the nature of man, society, government and history.

Rostow, W. W. The Dynamics of Soviet Society. New York: Mentor Books, 1954. 246 pp. 50¢.

An authoritative up-to-date interpretation of Soviet rule from its origins to the present day, prepared by W. W. Rostow and a group of outstanding political analysts from the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

*Scholastic Magazines. Freedom Answers Communism. New York: Scholastic Corporation, 1955. 64 pp. 50¢.

This booklet is based on a series of articles which appeared in Scholastic Magazines and which won the Freedoms Foundation medal for 1953. Presents a series of contrasts between the ways of freedom and communist dictatorship.

Shirer, William L. Rise and Fall of the Third Reich. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960. 1245 pp. \$10.00.

A history of the emergence of National Socialism during the crisis years that followed the first world war, its seizure and consolidation of power, its attempt to extend its sway over all Europe and its ultimate defeat and destruction. The author has consulted numerous published and unpublished documents and the mass of captured materials held at

Alexandria, Virginia.

Shub, David. Lenin. New York: A Mentor Book, the New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 501 Madison Avenue, 1948. 187 pp. 50¢ (paperback).

In this book Lenin appears as revealed by his relations with his family, his friends and his enemies and with leading figures in Russia's revolutionary struggle. The author of this book was a member of the Russian Social Democratic Party at the time Lenin was one of its leaders.

Teaching About Communism and Democracy: Case Studies. Reprinted by The Institute for American Strategy, 140 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 3, Illinois, 1961. 115 pp. \$1.00.

The materials were selected as representative approaches to the problem of teaching about Communism by five public school systems: New Bedford, Massachusetts; Indianapolis, Indiana; Boston, Massachusetts; Chicago, Illinois; and the State of Pennsylvania.

*Weingast, David E. This is Communism. New York: Oxford Book, 1961. 178 pp. Retail \$1.00, School 75¢.

Gives a panoramic view of the Communist organization at work on the American and world scenes.

Winance, Eleutherius. The Communist Persuasion: A Personal Experience of Brainwashing. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1959. 228 pp. \$3.95.

A personal account of the methods used by the communists in China to impose their ideology on the country and to transform its customs and institutions. In the first section of the book the author presents the technique and psychology used by the communists in China in brainwashing. The second section of the book includes the trial of the author and his expulsion from China. In the final section of the book, the author, after seven years of study, evaluates the role of brainwashing in winning over certain groups in China.

Collected Articles Adapted from Readers Digest, 1962. Educational Division, Pleasantville, New York: Readers Digest Services, Inc.

Communism: Menace to Freedom. 160 pp.

Freedom: America's Choice. 160 pp.